

THE
DEFENCE
OF THE
SCOTS Settlement
AT
DARIEN,
ANSWER'D,
Paragraph by Paragraph.

By *Philo-Britan.*

Waller Barr's

L O N D O N,

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THE
 D E F E N C E
 O F T H E
SCOTS Settlement
 A T
 D A R I E N,
 A N S W E R ' D.

WHEN this Pamphlet came first to my Hands, these bold and unaccountable Insinuations, with which I found it stuff'd up from the very beginning to the end, invited me to make some Reflections upon it, for my own Diversion, and the Use of some few of those whom I knew to be both my Friends, and constant Adherers to the present Government in *England*; not questioning but that some more able Pen than mine would take this Task in Hand, and convince the World of the unreasonableness of such an Undertaking by a private Hand, which amounts to no less than charging both His Majesty, and the present *English* Government with Injustice, and a mistake of their own Interest; as will more evidently appear out of the following Sheets.

The Dedication, which if rightly considered, is nothing else but an Introduction to the rest, is to make the World believe, that the *English* stand much indebted to the *Scots*, for suffering themselves to be united with them under one Head, and cannot discharge this Obligation, unless they maintain them in their present Settlement of *Darien*, which if they don't do, they must expect to be treated as an Ungrateful and Unjust People, by the *Scots*, who, if we will take this Gentleman's Word for it, are powerful enough, either by themselves, or with the Assistance of their Allies, to reduce us to a more pliable Temper.

That this is the main design of the Dedication, as well as the whole Treatise, will sufficiently appear to any one who will take the Pains carefully to peruse them; for tho' he is pleased to tell His Majesty at the beginning of the Dedication, that his Design is to vindicate the Settlement of the *Scots* in *Darien*, against the Aspersions of the *Spanish* Memorial; yet, when not long after he says, That those cannot be look'd upon as Friends to His Majesty's Dignity as King of *Scots*, who call in question what he enacts in the Parliament of *Scotland*; I say, these Words are an undeniable Proof, that the whole is more levell'd against *England* than *Spain*. I will not pretend to make particular Reflections upon each Passage here, because I shall have occasion to do it hereafter, but I cannot forbear to take notice of that unaccountable Arrogance which has emboldened some of our Modern Writers to foster the Inventions of their own Brains, and their Speculative Politicks upon the World, under the Cloak of the Royal Authority: Will not Posterity stand amazed when they see a Person, whose Faith has not only been call'd in question, but also condemn'd by a legal Sentence, to cover his Zeal, Self-Interest, and private Passion, under the Veil of His Sacred Majesty's Name? But we will proceed to the Book it self, which begins thus.

D E F E N C E.

The Heads propos'd to be insisted upon in the following Sheets, are, *The Legality of the Scots Establishment: The Advantage or Disadvantage that may redound from it to England: Whether the Scots without the Assistance of the English, may be able to maintain their footing in America; and what may probably be the Consequences if the Scots should be oppos'd therein by the English, and miscarry in the Undertaking.*

A N S W E R.

These several Heads give us sufficiently to understand, what I mentioned just now; to wit, That the chief aim of this Author was against the *English*; and that what is said in relation to the *Spaniards*, is only a Preparative to the rest, as will more plainly appear out of the following Sheets. Upon the first Head he says further thus:

D E F E N C E.

The chief Objections against the Legality of their Establishment, arise from the Memorial delivered in against it to the King, by the Ambassador Extraordinary of *Spain*, May 3: 1699. O. S. as follows:

A N S W E R.

As these Animadversions were intended at first only for a private use, so I had not the opportunity of informing my self, whether the following *Spanish* Memorial be Authentick in all its Parts or not, which therefore I insert here barely upon our Author's Credit, as it is extant in his Defence, &c.

THE Under-Subscriber, Ambassador Extraordinary from His Catholick Majesty, finds himself oblig'd by express Orders, to represent to Your Majesty, that the King his Master having receiv'd Information from different places, and last of all from the Governour of Havana, of the Insult and Attempt of some Scots Ships, equipped

equipp'd with Men and other things requisite, who design to settle themselves in His Majesty's Sovereign Demains in America, and particularly the Province of Darien, His Majesty receiv'd those Advices with very much Discontent, and looks upon the same as a Rupture of the Alliance betwixt the Two Crowns, (which His Majesty hath observed hitherto, and always observes very Religiously, and from which so many Advantages and Profits have result'd both to Your Majesty and Your Subjects) as a Consequence of which good Correspondence, His Majesty did not expect such sudden Insults and Attempts by Your Majesty's Subjects, and that too in a time of Peace, without pretext, (or any cause) in the very Heart of his Demains.

All that the King desires, is, That this may be represented to Your Majesty, and that Your Majesty may be acquainted, that he is very sensible of such Hostilities and unjust Procedures, against which His Majesty will take such Measures as he thinks convenient.

Given at London, May 1³. 1699.

It were easie (says the Author of the Defence of the Scot's Settlement) to make proper Remarks upon the Weakness, Insolence and Ingratitude of this Memorial, but it is not worth while; all the World knows what the Crown of Spain owes to His Majesty of Great Britain; and therefore a more civil Application might reasonably have been expected to a Prince who had not only sav'd the Netherlands, but prevented his Catholick Majesty from being insulted on his Throne at Madrid. But these things we pass over, and come to the chief Point in the Memorial, which is, *That the Scots have posted themselves in the King of Spain's Demains in America, contrary to the Alliance betwixt the two Crowns.* If this be prov'd to be false, then the Cause of the great Complaint ceases, and His Majesty of Great Britain hath reason to demand Satisfaction for the Affront offered thereby to his Justice and Sovereignty.

To prove the Falshood of the Allegation, That the Province of *Darien* is part of the King of *Spain's* Demains: It is positively denied by the *Scots*, who challenge the *Spaniards* to prove their Right to the said Province, either by *Inheritance, Marriage, Donation, Purchase, Reversion, Surrender, Possession, or Conquest*; which being the only Titles by which they or any other People can Claim a Right to those or any other Dominions, if the *Spaniards* cannot make out their Right by these or any of these, their Claim must of consequence be null and void.

A N S W E R.

It is a most surprising thing to see the Author Charge one of the greatest Kings in *Europe*, who thinks himself touch'd in the most sensible part of his Sovereignty, with Insolence and Ingratitude against His *Britannick* Majesty, when he, who owns himself a private Person, and his Subject, uses to many reflecting Expressions throughout the whole Treatise, upon the *English* Government. That *Spain* owes in a great measure its preservation to His Majesty of *Great Britain*, is scarce disputed by any, but he must be but indifferently vers'd in the Politicks of *Europe*, who does not know, That the Councils of Princes are sway'd more by the Considerations of their present Interest, than by the Remembrance of pass'd Obligations. Amongst all those Titles which he Assigns for the *Spaniards* to prove their Claim by, the Three last seem to be the most likely to do their Business; and supposing they should be able, by either one of them, or perhaps all Three together, to prove their Claim, What will then become of our Author's bold Challenge? But let us hear what he further says upon this Head.

D E F E N C E.

It is Evident, (says he) That the *Spaniards* cannot pretend a Title to that Country by Inheritance, Marriage, or the Donation of Prince and People; and as to Conquest it would be ridiculous to alledge it, since the *Dariens* are in actual possession of their Liberty, and were never subdued, nor receiv'd any *Spanish* Governour or Garrison amongst them. Nay, they were so far from it, that *Waser*, *Dampier*, and others that have wrote of that Country, do all agree, that they mortally hate the *Spaniards*, were in War with them, and that the *Spaniards* had no Commerce with those *Indians*, nor Command over them in all the North-side of the *Isthmus* a little beyond *Porto-Bello*. Captain *Sharp* in the Journal of his Expedition, published in Captain *Hacke's* Collection of Voyages, gives an Account, That in 1680, he landed at *Golden Island* with 330 Men; and being join'd by one of the *Darien* Princes, whom they call'd *Emperor*; and another to whom they gave the Title of *King Golden Cap*, with some hundreds of their Men, took *Sancta Maria*, attempted *Panama*, and made Prize of several *Spanish* Ships; which is the more remarkable, because Captain *Sharp* was afterwards tried in *England* for Robbery and Piracy on this very Account, but acquitted, because of his Commission from those *Darien* Princes; which is a plain Demonstration, that the Government of *England* did then look upon *Darien* to be no way subject to *Spain*, whatever some who are Enemies to the *Scots*, do now say against the Legality of their Settlement in that Country. This same Expedition against the *Spaniards*, by the assistance of the *Darien* *Indians*, is confirm'd by Mr. *Dampier* in his Introduction to his *New Voyage round the World*. And the Bishop of *Chiapa*, a Prelate of their own, in his Relation of the *Spanish* Voyages and Cruelties in the West-Indies,

Settlement at Darien, Answer'd. 9

Indies, Pag. 217. owns, ' That the *Spaniards* had
' no Title to the *Americans*, as their Subjects, by
' right of Inheritance, Purchase, or Conquest.

We have likewise a large Account, and a full Confirmation of the War and perpetual Enmity betwixt the *Dariens* and *Spaniards* in the History of the Buccaneers of *America*, Vol. 2. Part 4. wrote by *Basil Ringrose*, who was one of their Company. There he informs us, That the *Indians* of *Darien*, and the *Spaniards*, are commonly at War with one another; and that the Buccaneers were invited into that Country, and join'd by the *Darien* Princes, Captain *Andreas*, Captain *Antonio*, and the King of *Darien*, who assisted them in the taking of *Sancta Maria*, and their attempt upon *Panama*; and the King, whose Daughter the *Spaniards* had stole away, promised to joyn the Buccaneers with 50000 Men. This is the more remarkable, because those very Princes or their Successors are now in League with the *Scots*, and have joyfully receiv'd them into their Country. So that it is the strangest position that can be put upon any Nation, and one of the most audacious Affronts that ever was put upon so Great a Prince as *K. William*, for the *Spaniards* to pretend a Right to *Darien*, and accuse him of a Breach of the Peace, because a Colony of his Subjects have settled themselves there: when it is so well known to the World, that the Crown of *Spain* has no manner of Title to that Province.

Then as to any Claim by virtue of Possession, the *Spaniards* have not the least ground of Plea: All they can alledge on this Head, is, That they were once admitted by the Consent of Captain *Diego*, another of the *Darien* Princes, to work on some Golden Mines within 15 Leagues, or thereabouts, of the *Scots* Settlement. But it is plain that this makes nothing for their purpose. That Prince admitted them only as Labourers, but not as Proprietors; And when they broke the Conditions on which they were admitted, viz. To allow the *Dariens* such and such Shares of the Product, they

they were expell'd again by force; and ever since that time, the *Dariens* refuse to have any further Dealings with the *Spaniards*, who made themselves odious to them by their Treachery and Insolence: So that Mr. *Wafer* tells us, *Pag.* 133. They allow a distinguishing Mark of Honour to him who has kill'd a *Spaniard*: And *Pag.* 179. That *Cascara*, one of the chief of the *Darien* Princes, did in his Converse with him, express his Sense and Resentment of the Havock made by the *Spaniards* in the West of *America*, at their first coming thither.

A N S W E R.

Our *Philo-Calydon*, as he calls himself, pretends to prove here, That the *Spaniards* can lay no Claim to *Darien* as a Conquest: His Reasons are; Because they were never subdued; but I would fain ask this Gentleman, how he came to know this? 'Tis possible some of his Countrymen have been told so, by some of the *Dariens*; but this will be but a slender Argument against the *Spaniards*. It is most unquestionable, that there is much more probability on the *Spaniards* side than on the other. For how can it be supposed, that the *Spaniards*, who have conquer'd such a vast Tract of *America*, and several Plantations there, should not have been able to force a few petty *Indian-Lords*, who are enclosed within their Dominions, to a Submission? His Arguments, by which he would prove them a free People, is much more ridiculous, than the pretended Conquest of the *Spaniards*; it being evident, that a few Cottages, inhabited by a barbarous and unarmed People, headed by many Leaders, resembling the Heads of *Clans* in *Scotland*, did require neither a *Spanish* Governour nor Garrison. What he alledges concerning the Hatred they bear to the *Spaniards*, and their joyning with the *Buccaneers* against them, does not in the least invalidate the Title of *Spain* to *Darien*; And all what *Wafer*, *Dampier*, and the History of the *Buccaneers*, says, upon

upon this Subject, proves no more, than that those Petty *Indian* Lords, who formerly, either voluntarily or by force, submitted to the *Spaniards*; took this opportunity to shake off the *Spanish* Yoke, and to Revenge themselves upon their Conquerors; For if they had been in a Condition to make War against them without a foreign Assistance, What need had there been for them to call in the *Buccaneers*, and to allow them so large a share in the Booty? Our *Calidonian* Gentleman further tells us, That the *Spaniards* have no other Plea for Possession, but what was granted them by one of the *Darien* Princes, to Work as Labourers in some Golden Mines: I must confess this is somewhat difficult to be contradicted at so vast a distance, and I would have pass'd by this Point in silence, if *Pag.* 78. he had not himself furnish'd me with an Argument against his Assertion, where he says: *That they had been informed by a Frenchman, who married one of the Natives there, That the Spaniards have Gold and Silver Mines on the Isthmus, which they might make themselves Masters of with a 100 Men:* This, I say, and the Hostilities committed already by the *Spaniards*, against the *Scots* in their New Settlement, does, I think, carry with it a great probability, that to this day they are not excluded from the Province of *Darien*, but remain in actual Possession of so much of that Province, as they think consistent with their own Interest. What he alledges of Captain *Sharp's* being acquitted in *England*, by reason of his Commission from one of the *Darien* Princes, can in no wise affect the *Spanish* Title; for, supposing the Court of *England* was at that time not sufficiently inform'd concerning their Pretensions, What detriment could that be to their real Pretensions? If our Author could have given us an instance of a Person who had been acquitted upon the same Account in *Spain*, his Argument would have been of unquestionable Validity, which bears not the least weight now, at least not in reference to *Spain*. But, let us hear

the rest of his Arguments against the *Spanish* Title.

D E F E N C E.

It remains then that the *Spaniards* can lay no other Claim to *Darien* but what they plead from the Pope's general Grant of America, its being bounded by their Dominions, and the Treaties with England, which shall be consider'd in their Order.

To urge the Pope's Grant amongst Protestants is ridiculous, and amongst Papists themselves but precarious: But admitting it were sufficient to justify their Title, it is easie to prove that the *Spaniards* have forfeited all the Right they can Claim by virtue of that Grant.

The Church of *Rome* will not publicly own her Power to grant a Right of Conquest, but in order to propagate the Faith, and not that neither, except the Infidel Prince or People be guilty of a Breach of Treaty. So that the Pope's Grant with those Restrictions is so far from establishing the Title of the *Spaniards*, that it plainly overthrows it.

That the *Indians* were committed to the *Spaniards* by Pope *Alexander VI.* on condition that they should teach them the Christian Religion, is prov'd by Don *Bartholomew de las Casas*, Bishop of *Chiapa*, in his Account of the first Voyages and Discoveries made by the *Spaniards* in America, and the Relation of their unparallel'd Cruelties, Pag. 195. and there he likewise owns, 'That by their acquitting themselves so ill of that Commission, they ought to make Restitution of all they have taken from them under this pretext. And Pag. 200. he charges them with breach of the Terms prescrib'd by the Apostolical Brief, tho' Queen *Isabella*, to whom it was granted, earnestly intreated them in her last Will to keep exactly to it. Pag. 218. he says, That the Title of the King of *Spain* to the *Indians*, is founded only on the Obligation he had taken upon himself

to instruct them in the true Faith, as appears by the Apostolick Brief: Which they were to far from performing, that instead of converting their Souls, they destroyed their Bodies; having in those early days, viz. in the time of the Emperor *Charles V.* murder'd above 40 Millions of them; and took so little care to instruct them in the Christian Religion, that they perfectly obstructed their Conversion, and sold those very Idols that some of the poor People had thrown away with Abhorrence, to others of the *Indians*; *Ib.* P. 194. which, together with their other horrid Impieties, created an Aversion in those poor Infidels for Heaven it self; according to the known Story of *Hathwey* an *Indian* Prince, *Ibid.* Pag. 21. ' Who being fasten'd to a Stake by the *Spaniards* ' in order to be burnt, for no other Crime but in- ' deavouring to defend himself and his Subjects a- ' gainst their Cruelties, ask'd a Friar that was dis- ' couraging to him of Heaven, promising him eter- ' nal Happiness there if he would believe; and ' threatening him with Hell if he did not, whether ' Heaven was open to the *Spaniards*; and being an- ' swer'd that it was to such of them as were good, ' replied immediately, that he would not go thi- ' ther for fear of meeting such cruel and wicked ' Company as they were, but would much rather ' chuse to go to Hell, where he might be deliver'd ' from the troublesome sight of such kind of People. So that their forfeiture of all Right or Title to *Darien* by the Pope's Grant, if it were of any validity, is plainly demonstrated.

A N S W E R.

Our Author takes a great deal of Pains to demonstrate, that supposing the Pope's Grant of *America* to be valid in its self, they have forfeited the same. I believe there will scarce be any body so void of Humanity, who is acquainted with the most barbarous Cruelties committed by the *Spani-*

ards

ards against the poor Natives of that Country, as to take upon himself the Defence of them in this Point: But how far this affects their Title is the matter in Question at present. Not to enter upon the Topick here, How far the Miscarriages of Governours and other Officers, who transgress the Bounds of their Commission, affects the Titles of their Sovereigns, I will only insist upon this Head, which I believe will scarce admit of a Contradiction by any body who has a true insight into the matter; That supposing some of those Cruelties to have been committed by publick Authority, there is no body who can be acknowledg'd a competent Judge of the Forfeiture of the *Spanish* Title, but the Pope himself; who, admitted he has a Power to Grant it, must of necessity be the only Person who can Recall it; and till any such thing be done, their Title will stand unshaken upon that bottom, at least on the *Spaniards* side; whatever our Author may alledge against it out of the Bishop of *Chiapa*, whose Authority is insufficient to maintain his Assertion in this Point, as being only a Bishop under the Jurisdiction of *Spain*; and, as being a Church-man, he might as well make use of a Dragoon for a Pilot, as make those of his Profession competent Judges of the Titles of Princes. But let us see further.

D E F E N C E.

Their next Plea, is, That *Darien* is bounded or inclosed by their Dominions, viz. By *Porto-Bello* and *Carthagena*, with their Territories on the North, and *Panama* and *Sancta Maria* on the South. To this it is answered, That *Darien* is bounded only by the Sea on both sides, without so much as a *Spanish* Fort or Garison, from *Nombre de Dios* to the Gulf of *Darien* on the North Sea, or from the River of *Chego* to the River *Congo* on the South Sea. The Territories of the *Spaniards* confining on both ends of the *Isthmus* are not unlimited, but are restricted on
both

both sides by the *Dariens*, who has been already said, were never subject to *Spain*. Nor is it any new thing in the World for independent Sovereignties to lie inclos'd within the Dominions of other Princes; to instance in no more than *Orange* and *Avignon* in *Europe*, *Ceuta*, *Metilla*, &c. possessed by the *Spaniards* themselves in *Africk*, which lie in the very Bosom of *Morocco*, and yet the *Spaniards* don't think their Title to them e're a whit the worse. The *Dutch* and *Portuguese* have both of them Settlements on the Coast of *Brasil*, to which the *Spaniards* pretend a Right. The *French* have Settlements in *Hispaniola* and *Guiana*, notwithstanding the Neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*. The *English* and *French* have both of 'em Plantations in *Newfound-land*. The *Dutch* in time of Peace settled on *Long Island* in the middle of the *English* Plantations, yet no War ensued upon it. The *English* possessed themselves of *Bahama* Islands, tho' the *Spanish* Fleet passed betwixt them and *Florida*: And the *English* have several times settled at *Port-Royal* in *Campechy Bay*, to cut *Logwood*, &c. and remov'd and settled as they found convenient. King *Charles II.* in time of Peace granted a Patent to *Dr. Cox* to settle a Colony in the Bay of *Mexico*, which was never question'd by the *Spaniards*: And the *French* have now since the Conclusion of the last Peace, planted a Colony on the River *Mississipi* in that same Bay, against which we hear of no Complaints from *Madrid*. So that the Plea of the *Spaniards* from this Topick is perfectly overturn'd by Common Practice, the Law of Nations, and their own Concessions in parallel Cases.

A N S W E R.

If the Matter be well weighed, it will be no difficult Task to find out, that these Cases mentioned by our *Calidonian*, are so far from being parallel to the *Scots* Settlement at *Darien*, that they are of a quite different Nature. *Dr. Cox's* Patent came to nothing.

nothing, and what occasion was there for the *Spaniards* to complain then? And because the *English* have now and then Landed in *Campechy Bay*, to cut Log-Wood, Is this, I say, to be put in comparison with the *Scots* attempt upon *Davien*? Some *Dutch* settled themselves among the *English* in *Long Island*, but in a peaceable manner; and tho' no War ensued, yet Complaint was made of it, and the Matter brought to an Agreement.

The *Dutch* and *Portuguese* have both Settlements in *Brazil*, the *French* in *Hispaniola* and *Guiana*, and the *English* and *French* in *Newfoundland*; What Argument is this to the *Scots* Settlement in question? For whoever questioned but that different Nations might settle their Colonies upon waste Grounds in the same place, provided they were not in any Bodies Possession before. The Instances he gives of *Orange*, *Avignon*, *Ceuta*, and *Metilla*, which lie (as he says) in the Bosom of other Prince's Dominions, seem to carry something of more Weight with it, in so far as they prove that there is a possibility of independent Sovereignties being inclosed by the Dominions of other Princes. I could furnish our Author with a great many more of this nature, as the Imperial Cities in *Germany*, the Lordship of *Vianen* in *Holland*, the *Morlacks* in *Dalmatia*, and the *Cossacks* on the Frontiers of *Poland* and *Muscovy*; but all duly considered, it will appear, that they are still of a different Nature from the Matter in Question. For *Orange* and *Avignon* are the Remnants of those many Lordships and Principalities, which formerly composed the Empire of *France*, before it was brought in subjection under one Head: Their Situation is such, that they cannot be relieved from abroad, and their strength so inconsiderable, as not to be able to hold out against the first Attack of the Prince who commands round about it: The Case is quite different with the *Spaniards* in *America*, who when they established themselves there by their Sword, had not the least reason to leave those petty Principalities unattempted, which lay in the very Heart of their Conquests, and
by

by reason of their convenient Situation on the Sea-shoar, might one time or other prove dangerous Neighbours, if not brought to Submission either by force of Arms, or a voluntary Surrender. If the Emperour of *Morocco's* strength were equivalent to his Title, he might very justly drive the *Spaniards* from the *African Coast*, where they have no other Title but Possession; and those Places which I have mentioned are so engaged either by Alliances or other Contracts to those Princes, in whose Dominion they are inclosed, that without offering a notorious violence to those Engagements, they cannot submit themselves to any Foreign Power.

D E F E N C E.

The next Plea (says our Author) of the *Spaniards*, is from the Treaties betwixt them and the Crown of *Great Britain*, of which they alledge the Settlement of the *Scots* at *Darien* to be a Breach: But that there's no ground for this Allegation, will appear to those that peruse the said Treaties, viz. that of May 23. 1667. and that of July 1670. wherein there's not the least mention of excluding either Party from enlarging their Dominions in *America*, upon Wastes, or by consent of the Natives, in such places as have never yet been possess'd by *Spain*, or *Great Britain*. So that all that can be infer'd from those Treaties, is, that they were a mutual Security for the peaceable possession of what each Crown enjoy'd in that Country, and no more; which is sufficiently confirm'd by the Patent granted to Dr. Cox, and the settling and removing of the *English* in *Campochy Bay*, &c. without Controul, as before mention'd.

A N S W E R.

If it were granted by the *Spaniards*, or sufficiently proved by the *Scots*, that their Settlement at *Darien* was made in such a place as never had any dependency on *Spain*, it might easily be granted, that their Establishment there was no breach of those Treaties; but I hope they will allow at the same time that till the same be proved beyond Contradiction, we ought at least to suspend our Judgment in this point, which hitherto has not appear'd so evident in the *English*, as ours to our *Calidonian*: For thus he says further.

D E F E N C E.

Having thus made it evident that the *Spaniards* have no manner of Title or Right to *Darien*, it is natural in the next place to shew that they themselves are guilty of the Breach of Treaty by proceeding in this Affair as they have done.

By the third Article of the Treaty between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, concluded at *Madrid*, May $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{2}{3}$. 1667. it is provided, ' That
' if any Injury shall be done by either of the said
' Kings, or by the People or Subjects of either of
' them, to the People or Subjects of the other, a-
' gainst the Articles of that Alliance, or against
' common Right, there shall not therefore be given
' Letters of Reprisal, Marque, or Countermarque,
' by any of the Confederates, until such time as Ju-
' stice is follow'd in the ordinary Course of Law.
Yet the *Spaniards* without any such Procedure, or offering in the least to prove their Title to *Darien*, present a virulent and huffing Memorial, at the very first charging the King with want of *Friendship*, and a breach of Alliance, and threatening to take such measures as they shall think meet: When their sickly
Monar-

Monarchy has not yet had time to breath, sincerescu'd from the common Danger wherein *Europe* was involv'd, by the Arms of that very Prince, whom they treat so ungratefully.

But this is not all: for contrary to the exprefs Words of that same Treaty, they attack the *Scots* by Sea and Land, who had done them no Injury, but acquainted them that they came thither peaceably, without any hostile design against them, or any other People, and were so generous as to reject the Motion of Captain *Andreas*, one of the *Darien* Princes, and their Ally, when he offer'd to make them Masters of *Panama*, if they would but joyn him with 500 of their Men.

The *Spaniards* have also, contrary to the 10th and 11th Articles of the Treaty concluded at *Madrid*, July $\frac{6}{18}$ 1670. concerning *America*, detain'd the *Scots* and *English* Prisoners who were forced ashore at *Carthagena* by Shipwrack, tho all such Practices be expressly provided against by the said Articles: And they have also violated the 14th Article of that Treaty which forbids Reprisals, except in case of denying or unreasonably delaying Justice. From all which it is evident that the King of *Great Britain* has just reason to demand Satisfaction of the *Spaniards* for Attacking his Subjects contrary to Treaty; and that the *Scots* being thus injuriously treated, may very lawfully, not only make Reprisals upon the *Spaniards* for themselves, but joyn with the King of *Darien* in taking *Sancta Maria*, *Panama*, or any other place belonging to the *Spaniards* in that Country, of which the *Dariens* are Natural Lords, and the *Spaniards* Tyrannical Usurpers, as is pleaded by the King of *Darien* himself; and therefore he invited the *English* Buccaneers to assist him to retake it: And by this Capt. *Sawkins* justified his Proceedings in a Letter to the Governour of *Panama*, asserting that the King of *Darien* was true Lord of *Panama*, and all the Country thereabouts; and that they came to assist him. *History of Buccaneers*, Vol. 2. Part 4. P. 32. And we have mentioned before that Capt.

Sharp, who was accused of Piracy, for that same Expedition, and succeeded *Sawkins* in his Command, was acquitted in *England*, because he had that Prince's Commission.

A N S W E R.

If it had been made so evident as our Author imagines, that the *Spaniards* have no Title upon *Darien*, I would soon agree with him in Opinion, that they themselves had been guilty of that Breach of these Treaties, which they charge upon the *Scots*; but this being look'd upon by the now unbiass'd, as a Case, which at the best is yet undetermin'd, the Question is, Whether as such they have controverted against several of the Articles of these two Treaties. I will not pretend here to Patronize or defend every step the *Spaniards* have made since the *Scots* Settlement, this ought to be left to the Determination of His Majesty of *Great Britain*, who, as he is the true Judge of it, so no Question, but he will in due time demand Reparation for the Miscarriages committed against the said Treaties: I will only put the Reader in mind of that most ancient and general Maxim founded upon the Law of Nations, *Vim vi repelere licet*. What Wonder is it, if the *Spaniards* when they saw a Foreign Nation, without their permission, Land good store of Men, and other Warlike Instruments, in a place which they look'd upon as their own Propriety, and which is of the utmost consequence to them? What Wonder is it, I say, when they saw them erect Fortifications, and enter into Alliance with those who were at that time their declared Enemies (according to our Author's own Confession) they endeavoured to draw that Thorn out of their Feet, without seeking first for Redress at so many Thousand Miles distance. I would have our Author turn the Tables, and let the *Scots* make the Case their own, whether they would not force any Foreign Nation from their Shoar, that should pretend

pretend to come in the same manner to settle themselves without leave in any place under their Pre-
tension or Jurisdiction. If it be considered, What
a considerable Traffick the *English* have in *Spain*,
it is evident, That it had been in their Power to
make themselves an ample amends by way of Re-
prisals; but since they have not taken any such Mea-
sures, their endeavours to dislodge the *Scots* from
Darien, at such a distance from *England*, may admit
of a much more favourable Construction, than our
zealous *Calidonian* would put upon it. He goes
on further.

D E F E N C E.

Having fully prov'd that the *Spaniards* have no
Title to *Darien*, it remains to be prov'd that the
Scots have as good and just a Title to their Settle-
ment there, as any People in the World can have;
which may easily be demonstrated thus: They were
authorized by an Act of Parliament, and the King's
Letters Patent, to plant Colonies in Asia, Africa, or
America, upon Places not inhabited, or any other Place,
by consent of the Natives, not possess'd by any European
Prince or State. Being provided with this Authority,
than which there cannot be a greater, or one
more duly and honestly limited, they Equipp'd
their Ships, and landed on the North side of the
Isthmus of *Darien* in November 1698. where the
Spaniards, as has been fully prov'd, never had any
Possession, and no other *European* Prince or State
pretends any Claim to it. Being arriv'd there,
they fairly obtain'd the Consent of the Princes and
People of the Country, and particularly of Captain
Andreas, who is the chief Man in that Tract; and
after a solemn Treaty and Alliance deliberately
made, and wrote in *Spanish*, because the said Prince
understands that Language, they peaceably enter
upon their new Colony, without either Force or
Fraud. So that they have religiously kept to the
Con-

Conditions of the Act and Patent, which is a plain Demonstration that they have a just and legal Title to their Settlement, and a Right to the Protection of the Government, against the Attempts of the Spaniards, or any other People whatsoever.

A N S W E R.

The Scots Title to their Settlement at *Darien*, pursuant to their Patent, might pass for very good, if they could make it evidently appear, that the same had not been possess'd before by any European Prince or State, according to the Tenure of the said Letters Patent; but till that be done upon a more sure Foundation than our *Calidonian* has pleas'd to lay, they ought not to be angry, if the Government is not so forward in granting them the desired Protection; And I suppose, the Scots, for all our Authors Threats, will be better advis'd before they join with the Natives in making an Attempt upon *Panama*, or any other strong Hold of the Spaniards, for fear they should by transgressing thus their Commissions, forfeit all the right they are Invested with by Virtue of the said Grant, and bring other irreparable Mischiefs upon their Heads. But let us now hear, what our Author says to the next Point, which has a more particular Relation to *England*.

D E F E N C E.

The next Topick to be insisted upon, is, The Advantage or Disadvantage that may redound to *England* from this Settlement. We shall begin with the Disadvantage which consists in the supposed Damage it may do to the Trade of *England*; and that it may, as is pretended, occasion a Rupture betwixt them and *Spain*. To this we may easily Reply, That being a distinct and Independant Nation, we are not oblig'd to consult their Interest,
any

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any further than they consult ours; and that we have as much reason to maintain this Colony, because of the Advantage it may bring to our selves, as they have to oppose it, because of the Disadvantages that they fancy may arise from thence to *England*. But withal we deny that it can be any damage to their Trade, which from that part of the World consists chiefly in Sugar and Tobacco, neither of which are yet to be found in *New Calidonia*. But that which we look upon to be a compleat Answer to the Objection, is this, That they may be Sharers with us in the Settlement if they please, and by consequence Partners in the Profits and Trade, and lay it under such Regulations as may prevent its endamaging the Commerce of *England*.

And whereas it is further Objected, That by the great Immunities and freedom from Customs granted to the *Scots* Company for so many years, we shall be able to Under Sell the *English* Company, forestall their Markets, and lessen His Majesty's Customs: We Answer, That this Objection is in a great measure obviated, since we do not now pretend to set up an *East-India* Trade; but admitting it were true, it will be to the general Advantage of the *English* Nation, since the Buyers are always more than the Sellers. It must certainly be better for the Kingdom in general, that every one who has occasion for Muslin or *Indian* Silks, &c. should save so many Shillings *per* Yard or Piece in their Pockets, than that some two or three Merchants should once in an Age get Money enough to make a Daughter or two a Countess or Dutchess. Nor can it be denied, but it's better for *England*, that House-keepers in general should save that Money to buy Provisions for their Families, which consumes our own Product, than that a dozen of Merchants should be enabled by the extravagant Prices of those Commodities to keep their Coaches. Add to this, That the *English* if they please by joining with the *Scots* may have an equal share of all those Immunities; and if there should be for some time a

lessening of the King's Customs, of which there is at present no manner of prospect, it will be sufficiently made up in time to come by a large Addition, if that Colony prospers; so that the King's Bounty in that respect is but like the bestowing of charge to improve barren or waste Ground, which will return with treble Interest to him or his Heirs.

There's another Objection made against the *Scots* Company, That by their Constitution such Ships as belong them must break Bulk no where but in *Scotland*, which will diminish the number of *English* Ships and Seamen, and make *Scotland* the only Free Port of all those Commodities. To which it's Replied, That tho' our own Ships are obliged to break Bulk no where but at home, they don't lay the same Obligation upon others, but, allowing them a free Trade to *Darien*, they may carry their Goods where they please; or upon fair Proposals, there's no doubt but the Parliament of *Scotland* will give the *English* all possible Liberty as to that matter.

A N S W E R.

Allowing the *Scotch* Nation to be Independant, (tho' this has been questioned by some) our Author, tells us, They are not obliged to consult the Interest of *England* further than they consult theirs; which indeed is the best Argument he has made use of hitherto in the Defence of the new Settlement: But then I hope, he will also grant, That this being Reciprocal betwixt these two Nations, he ought not to blame the *English*, if they won't Sacrifice their own Interest to that of the *Scots*, and take all necessary and legal Precautions against their Encroachments, to the Disadvantage of our Trade. This Objection, he says, may be answered, By making such Regulations as will prevent the endamaging the Commerce of *England*. This is much sooner said than put in practice; For if the *Scots* could have found out an Expedient, which might be satisfactory

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ry both in respect to the Honour and Interest of the *English* Nation in that Point, Why was it not proposed and put in Execution before the *English* saw themselves under a necessity to represent their Grievances against the *Scots* new Company to His Majesty, and to take such further Measures against it as they judged most suitable to their own Interest? He further would perswade us, That the Immunities from paying Customs, granted to the *Scots* Company, cannot be any Detriment to *England*; because Muslin, Indian Silks, &c. will be sold Cheaper for the general benefit of the Buyers; But what would in such a case become of our *East-India* Trade, who being obliged to pay heavy Customs, could not afford to Sell at the same Rate? What would become of our Silk Manufactory, and the *Turkey* Company? It is certain, That a great many thousands of People, who maintain their Families by the Silk Manufactory, must be reduced to a starving Condition, if those *East-India* Silks were sold at a cheaper Rate than they are now. This is indeed the way to make our Merchants go on Foot, and set the *Scots* on Horseback. By the Constitution of this New *Scots* Company, their Ships are obliged to break Bulk no where but in *Scotland*: This Advantage he pretends to balance, by assuring us, That the *Scots* Parliament will Dispencc with the *English* upon that Score; But pray, what Reason is there for the *English* to depend on the favour of a *Scots* Parliament, when they may carry on the *East-India* Trade in their own Country without it? especially, since it remains doubtful, under what Restrictions and Limitations this Liberty might be granted to the *English*. But let us hear what he says, in Reference to the danger of a Rupture with *Spain*.

D E F E N C E.

Then as to the hazard of a Rupture with *Spain*; we Reply, That the *Spaniards* are in no Condition to break with *England*, when they are not able to maintain themselves against the Insults of the *French* by Sea and Land; and the only way to secure them in the *British* Interest, is to have a powerful Colony in *Darien*, which lying in the very Centre of their *American* Dominions, and within reach of their Silver and Gold Mines, will be an effectual Curb upon them, and not only prevent their own Hostilities, but their joining at any time with our Enemies; or if they do, being Masters of their Money, we shall speedily cut the Sinews of their War.

A N S W E R.

That *Spain* is no Match for *England* at this time, in case of a Rupture, is scarce to be denied by any who have the least insight into the Affairs of *Europe*; but this does not answer the Question in hand; which is, Whether it be for the Interest of *England* to run the hazard of a Rupture with *Spain*, on the Account of the *Scots* Settlement? which I answer in the Negative. For, tho' the Monarchy of *Spain* be brought to so low an Ebb, as not to be formidable to us, yet at this juncture, when the *French* as well as the *Austrian* Family, endeavour to court this Crown at any rate; I see not the least reason, why the *English* should run the hazard of such a Rupture, which at the best, would Ruin their Traffick in *Spain*, endanger that in the *Mediterranean*, or at least put us to the charge of keeping a great Fleet at Sea for the security of our Commerce; and all this for what purpose? to maintain the *Scots* Settlement, which we look upon as against our own Interest;

terest : But if it was not, Who would Reimburse the Charges ? I question whether the *Scots* Company, or perhaps the whole Kingdom, would be able to do it. But if, notwithstanding all this, the *Spaniards* should transgress their Bounds, we have a King who knows how to maintain his Authority, and the Glory of the *British* Nation, of which he has given us an Instance in the *Spanish* Ambassador, but a few Days ago. But let us hear, how our Author proceeds further.

D E F E N C E.

In the next place we urge, That it will be very much for the Interest and Advantage of *England*, to incourage and support us in this Settlement.

1. Because by this means the *Scots* will increase their Shipping, and come in time to have a Naval Force, capable of assisting the *English* in the common Defence of the Island, in maintaining the Sovereignty of the Seas, and Convoying their Merchantmen in time of War. The *English* can't always promise to themselves the Amity of the *Dutch*, who are their Rivals in Trade, and differ far enough from them both in Temper and Interest, there's nothing to cement them but the Life of our present Sovereign: Whereas the *Scots* being united with the *English*, under the same Government, and Inhabiting the same Island, must of necessity have the same Interest as to Trade, and to defend the Country against all Foreign Invaders, as they constantly did in former times, against *Romans*, *Danes*, *Saxons*, and *Normans*, notwithstanding their living then under a separate Prince, and their frequent Wars with *England*. Nor is that brave Resistance which a few of them made to the *Dutch* at *Chatham*, to be

forgotten, which did in a great measure repair the Honour of *England*.

A N S W E R.

Our *Caledonian* puts the probability of increasing the Naval Strength of *Scotland* in the Front, which he supposes to be absolutely necessary for the *English* Interest at Sea. But I am afraid it will be a great while before the *Scots* will be able to make any considerable addition to it. It is the more safe way for us, to encourage our own Commerce, and Naval Force, which is such, that if rightly managed, we need not be beholding to the *Scots*, for what assistance they are able in all likelihood to give us at Sea. But, says he, The *Dutch* may not be always our Friends, because they differ from us in Temper and Interest: and so do the *Scots* as the case now stands, in reference to the last; and as to the first, I know not whether it be not as different from the *English*, as that of the *Dutch*: Besides, if we may take this Gentleman's Word for it, the *Scots* may not be always our Friends neither, but look for Alliances abroad, to support their Interest against ours, which is a seasonable Caution he has been pleased to give us, as we shall see anon.

D E F E N C E.

2. As *Scotland* increases in Shipping, they will increase in Wealth, and by consequence be able to bear a greater share of the Burden of any Foreign War, which will save Men and Money to *England*, and lighten their Taxes.

3. The

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3. The Success of the *Scots* in their *American* Colony, will be an additional Strength to the *English* Plantations in the *West-Indies*, as well as an advancement of their Trade, by consuming their Product, and giving them theirs in exchange.

4. The Success of the *Scots* at *Darien*, will be of great advantage to *England*, for the more Money the *Scots* acquire by their Trade, the more they will spend in *England*, which being the Seat of the Government, must frequently be visited by their Nobility and Gentry, who generally furnish themselves in *England* with their best Apparel, Household Furniture, Coaches and Horses, &c. besides the Money that the Young Noblemen and Gentlemen spend in their Passage through that Nation, when they go and come from their Travels. These things occasion their laying out vast Sums of Money annually in the City of *London*, which being the Seat of the Government, will as certainly draw Money from *Scotland*, as the Sun draws Vapours after it.

A N S W E R.

We will take it for granted, that the *Scots* would consume more Money in *England* than they do now, if they were more wealthy, but I deny that thereby we should draw Money from *Scotland*: For if they could under-sell our *East-India* Commodities, that would be such an over-balance to what they can in all likelihood spend in *England*, that it bears not the least proportion to it; whereas now the *Scots* are obliged to *England* for all these things. they having no considerable Manufactures among themselves, or any better conveniency to supply the want of them but from *England*, which, considering how little we stand in want of the Products of their Country, and how little it affords, must needs draw Money from *Scotland*. The Products of our *West-India* Plantations consisting chiefly in Sugar and Tobacco I don't see what great prospect of advantage the Consumption

tion of them in one Colony, can bring to the *English*, when they furnish the greatest part of *Europe* with them, to a much greater advantage; and as to the *Scots* bearing a share in the Burthen of a Foreign War, the Supposition of it is built upon so an uncertain a Foundation, that it scarce deserves to be mentioned. considering especially, that the *Scots* hitherto have not been the most forward in parting with their Money upon that account.

D E F E N C E.

5. The Success of the *Scots* in their Foreign Plantation, will not only ease *England* of great numbers of their Pedlars, so frequently complain'd of in Parliament by Country Corporations and Shopkeepers, but it will occasion the return Home, and prevent the going out of vast numbers of their Youth, who follow the same sort of Employment, or betake themselves to the Sword in *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Muscovy*, *Germany*, *Holland* and *France*; by which means the Government of *Great Britain* may furnish their Fleets and Armies at a much cheaper and easier rate than formerly, and with as good Mariners and Soldiers as any in the World.

6. The *English* by joyning with the *Scots* and supporting their Colony at *Darien*, may have their Plate brought home in their own Bottoms, and from their own Mines, with which we are assured that *Country* abounds, without being obliged to touch at *Cadix* or any Foreign Port, being liable to the vexatious Indulges of Foreign Princes, or in such hazard of being intercepted, as they many times were during the late War.

7. The *English* may by joyning with the *Scots* render themselves more capable than ever of keeping the Balance of *Europe* in their hands; a Trust which Nature and Providence seems to have assign'd 'em, since their Situation and Naval Force not only makes it proper for them, but they have had an opportunity

ty put into their Hands in little above the Revolution of one Century, of twice breaking the Chains of *Europe* when threatned with Slavery; first by the *Spaniards*, and then by the *French*. This is so much the more evident, that by being possess'd of *Darien*, they will be able either to prevent the uniting the *Spanish* and *French* Monarchies; or if not so, to render that Union so much the less dangerous, when it will be in their power to seize their Treasure and Dominions in the *Indies*, without which, that bulky Monarchy must fall by its own weight. This is likewise of so much the greater importance, that it may very probably either prevent a Religious War, towards which the *Papists* discover so much inclination, or at least bring it to a speedier Conclusion: For we have as good reason to look upon the *Spanish* Mines in the *West-Indies*, to be Antichrist's Pouch, by which he maintains his War against the Church, as the Old *Taborites* had to call the Silver Mines in *Bohemia* by that Name. It is certainly the surest Method of destroying Antichrist, to seize his Purse; for if he once be depriv'd of *Judas's* Bag, he will quickly drop *St. Peter's* Keys. It's by the Charms of her Gold that the *Babylonish* Whore hath made the whole World to wonder after her, and the Kings of the Earth to be drunk with the Cup of her Fornication.

A N S W E R.

By this Cant of Antichrist's Pouch, the *Babylonish* Whore, and some other Expressions our *Calidonian* makes use of in this Treatise, one would shrewdly suspect him to be a Disciple of the Old *Covenanting Crew*, the more because I find he has a great Itch after the *Spanish* Mines, a Property belonging in a most peculiar manner, to that Gang, who sold their King for Money, as *Judas* did *Christ*. But to return to our more serious Considerations.

I think

I think we have all the reason in the World to hope, that, since *England*, has been twice instrumental in breaking the Chains of *Europe*, and keeping up that Balance which is absolutely necessary for the Repose of *Europe*, without the Assistance of the *Scots*, it may be able to maintain its ancient Glory without their New Settlement at *Darien*; which, in my Opinion, will contribute but very little either to prevent the Union of the *Spanish* and *French* Monarchies, or to render it less dangerous; for, I am well Convinced, that if the last should happen, the *French* would soon tell the *Scots*, *Veteres migrate Coloni*: For if they would not take the Compliment, they would find some other way to send them back to the *Highlands*.

He promises the *English* Golden Mountains, and that without any trouble, free from all Imposts and Danger; but if these Mines should prove Abortive, if it should happen with them as the Poet says, *Parturiunt Montes*, would not the *English* deserve to be Laugh'd at, to expose their *Spanish* Commerce to hazard, for the uncertain hopes of some imaginary Mines promised them by an unknown Gentleman, who can give no better Account of them, than what has been told him by others, who perhaps have it no more than by hearsay themselves. We are obliged to this Gentleman however, for the Kindness he is pleased to shew for *England*, in easing us of the *Scotch* Pedlars, but the Danger is, that, in case the *Scots* should be permitted to furnish *England* with Muslins, Silks, &c. as he mentioned before, they would all turn Wholesale Men, and those that now are gone to carry their Packs upon their Backs would go about the Country with as many Pack-Horses, as a Carrier that comes to *London* freighted with all sorts of Commodities.

D E F E N C E.

8. By this means the *English* may be better able to prevent the Ruine of their Trade in the *Mediterranean* and *West-Indies*, if the *French* should possess themselves of the Kingdom of *Spain*: And they will likewise be the better able to prevent their possessing themselves of the *Netherlands*; which if once they should do, and get Ports there capable of holding a Fleet, they would also ruine their *Eastland* Trade, and put a period to the Liberties of *Great Britain*.

9. It will effectually Unite the *Scots* to *England* by an inseparable Tie, if the *English* join us in this Undertaking: Their Ancestors would have gladly purchased this Union at a much dearer rate, but were always outbid by *France*: And the want of that Union made the *English* not only an easie Prey to their successive Conquerors, but lost them all the large Provinces that they enjoy'd beyond Sea, which were their Natural Barriers, gave them a free Access to the Continent, and made the *English* Name so glorious in the Days of their Ancestors.

A N S W E R.

I can't for my Life conceive how this *Scots* Settlement should prove of such vast consequence, as to support our *Mediterranean* and *West-India* Trade against the *French*, if they should become Masters of *Spain*, much less how it should influence our Affairs so near Home, as to prevent them from possessing themselves of the *Netherlands*, unless the whole be built upon the hopes of his Mines; but as the same hitherto are but imaginary, so he would have done very well to have given us some more satisfactory reason for this Assertion.

What he says of the *English* being made an easie Prey to their Conquerors, for want of an Union with *Scotland*, ought to be look'd upon as a piece of Romance; and this Gentleman, has forgot what he alledged not long before, *viz.* how instrumental the *Scots* had been in defending the Island against any Foreign Invaders: All that the *Scots* have to brag of in this Case is, that the great distance and unkindness of their Climate secured them against the Attempts of those who being possess'd of the Fertile Grounds of *England*, did not think it worth their while to look after them among the Cold and Barren Mountains. It must be confess'd that their frequent Inroads in *England*, gave the *French* a fair opportunity of ridding their Hands by degrees from the *English*, but it was not so much for want of such an Union, as he would make us believe, but because they were glad of any opportunity to supply their Wants at Home, by Plundering and Ravaging the Borders of *England*; and because, as he himself confesses, the *French* paid them very well besides for their Pains; so that we may well apply to *Scotland*, what *Jagurtha*, if I mistake not, said of *Rome*: *O Romam venalem, dummodo emptorem invenisset*: For the *Scots* were always for him that did bid most. But let us hear his last Argument upon this Head.

D E F E N C E.

10. It will be of general Advantage to the *Protestant* Interest, and contribute to the Advancement of pure Christianity, without any of the *Romish* Sophistications: Which certainly ought to weigh much with all true *Protestants*; and so much the more, that the Pope and the Conclave of *Rome* have espoused the Quarrel of the *Spaniards* in this Affair as a Cause of Religion. Doubtless the poor *Americans* will be more inclinable to imbrace Christianity, when they find the difference of the Morals and Doctrine betwixt *Protestants* and *Papists*, and see that the former
treat

treat them with Humanity, and seek their Welfare both in Body and Soul ; whereas the *Spaniards* have render'd themselves, and the Religion they profess, odious, by the Inhumane Cruelties and Brutish Lusts which they have exercis'd upon so many Millions of the Natives. This is so far from being a Calumny, that an unexceptionable Author of their own, *Don Bartholomew de las Casas* Bishop of *Chiapa*, formerly mention'd, who was an Eye-witness of their Cruelties, gives an Account that they had in his Time destroyed above 40 Millions of the poor *Indians*; tho' they receiv'd them with the greatest kindness imaginable, were ready to do'em all the Friendly Offices that one Man could desire of another, and testified their great Inclination to have embrac'd the Christian Religion. But the *Spaniards* aim'd at the Destruction, and not at the Conversion of the *Indians*; and are avowedly charg'd with it by the said Bishop, who in many places of his Book declares, That after they had sent for the Chiefs of the Countries to meet them in an amicable manner, which the poor harmless Creatures did without suspicion of any Fraud, these merciless Tyrants Murder'd them by wholesale, on purpose to make themselves terrible to them. This was a Practice so inconsistent with Humanity, that all the People of the World ought to have resent'd it: as having much more reason to declare the *Spaniards* to be Enemies to Mankind, than ever the *Roman* Senate had to declare *Nero* to be such.

But this sort of Treatment compar'd with what they made others to suffer, may well be call'd Mercy: For tho' it was Death, the *Indians* were hereby quickly deliver'd from their Misery; whereas they put Multitudes of others to lingering Deaths, that they might feel themselves die gradually; and yet this is not so intolerable neither as the Condition of those poor People that had the Misfortune to survive that Cruelty; for the whole time of their Lives under that miserable Servitude, is but Death prolong'd, or making his Attacks upon'em by intolerable Labour,

and continual Hunger, the most insupportable of all Plagues; those poor Creatures that toil in the Mines, and are employ'd in Pearl-fishing, &c. having no more Sustainance allow'd them, and that too of the coarsest sort, than is just enough to keep Soul and Body together, in order to prolong their Misery. Then let any Man, who has but the least remains of Humanity left him, judge whether the *Scots* could be Criminal, if they should have actually Landed upon a *Spanish* Settlement, and have seiz'd the same, in order to deliver their Brethren the Sons of *Adam*, from such Hellish Servitude and Oppression as the above mention'd Bishop describes; and if no Man that has any Bowels of Compassion within him can say they could, what shadow of reason is there to blame the *Scots* for erecting a Colony where the *Spaniards* never had any footing?

A N S W E R.

If this could be proved beyond Contradiction, I must confess no Body could blame the *Scots* for settling themselves at *Darien*, but till that be done, we must ask our Author's Pardon, to suspend at least our Judgment, as to the legality of their Title to it. If I mistake not the matter, he does not seem to build altogether upon that Foundation so much as upon their having forfeited their Title by their unheard of Cruelties; for, to what purpose else this tedious Repetition, when he had enlarged himself sufficiently before upon that Theme? Which indeed may serve to render the *Spaniards* odious, but in my Opinion is but a slender Addition towards the strengthening of their Title upon *Darien*, since with the same Right, not only the *Scots*, but any Nation whatsoever might lay claim to all *America*, as far as it is in the Possession of the *Spaniards*. We will therefore hear what he has to alledge for us *Caledonians* in the third Head.

D E F E N C E.

The next thing to be consider'd is, Whether the *Scots* without the assistance of *England*, may probably maintain their footing there, which there's no doubt may very well be determin'd in the affirmative.

1. Because the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* being more zealous for it, and unanimous in it, than they have been in any other thing for forty or fifty Years past, it is not to be doubted, but they will use their utmost Efforts to support themselves in it by their own strength; or if that will not do, by making Alliances with other Nations that are able to assist them with a Naval Force.

2. If they meet with no other Opposition but what the *Spaniards* are able to make to them, it will be easie for the Nobility, and Gentry, and Royal Burroughs of *Scotland*, to raise Money upon their Lands, &c. to increase their Stock for the *American* Trade, and buy Ships of Force to protect it: Nay, without that it's but giving Commission to the *Buccaneers* to become an over-match for the *Spaniards*.

3. Supposing the *French* should offer to join with the *Spaniards*, and assist them to drive the *Scots* from *Darien*, as some say they have already proffered; we are not to imagine that the *Spaniards* will accept their Proffers in this case, when they refused them as to the driving the *Moors* from before *Ceuta*. The Reasons are obvious: They declin'd the accepting their Proffers as to *Ceuta*, because they would not thereby give the *French* an opportunity of possessing themselves of any of their Towns in *Africa*, as it is but too common for Foreign Auxiliaries to do in such cases. Then certainly they have much greater reason to refuse their Proffers as to *Darien*, *America* being of infinitely more value to them than some *African* Towns: And if once the *French* should get
foot-

footing there, it would be in vain for the *Spanish* Grandees any further to dispute the Succession of *France* to their Crown; for they would immediately seize upon their Mines and Treasures in the *West-Indies*, without which the *Spanish* Monarchy is not able to support it self.

Or supposing the King of *Spain* should live for many Years, and by consequence keep the *French* out of possession; yet having once got footing at *Darien*, which they will certainly do, if the *Scots* be expell'd by their assistance, the *Spaniards* will quickly be convinc'd to their Cost, that they are more dangerous Neighbours than the *Scots*; not only because of their greater Power to do them more mischief, but because of their inroaching Temper, which all *Europe* is sensible of; and being of the same Religion with the *Spaniards*, and having of late Years set up for the Champions of Popery, they will by the Influence of the Clergy, bring all the *Spanish* Settlements of *America* to a dependence upon them, and a love for them as the great Protectors of the Catholick Faith; which will at once destroy the Interest of *Spain* in *America*.

This will appear to be no vain Speculation, to those that consider the Temper of the Popish Clergy, and the Insolence of the *Spanish* Inquisitors, who so daringly reflected upon the late Alliance of *Spain* with Protestant Princes and States, tho' absolutely necessary to preserve that Nation from being swallowed up by *France*.

Whereas the *Scots* being Zealous Protestants, and for that very reason hateful to the Popish Clergy and Laity, they are under a moral Impossibility of having so much Influence to withdraw the *American* Settlements from the Obedience of *Spain*: And besides, being under an obligation by the Principles of their Religion, and their fundamental Constitution, not to invade the Property of another, the *Spaniards* have no cause to fear any thing from them, provided they forbear Hostilities on their part; but on the contrary may find them true and faithful Allies,

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lies, and useful to assist them in the defence of their Country, if attack'd by the *French* as in the late War: It being the Interest of the *Scots*, as well as of the *Spaniards*, to prevent the Accession of the Crown of *Spain* to that of *France*.

These things, together with the known Endeavours of the *French* to procure an Interest amongst the Natives of that Country, and especially with *Don Pedro* and *Corbet*, in order to a Settlement, make it evident enough, that it is the Interest of *Spain* the *Scots* should rather have it than the *French*, who have already been tampering with the *Spaniards* as well as with the *Indians*, and doubt not to have a large share of *America* whenever the King of *Spain* dies.

A N S W E R . .

Most People, I am apt to believe, will soon agree with our Author in this point, That the *French* would be by far the more dangerous Neighbours to the *Spaniards* in *America*, both in respect of their Power, and the influence they might have over the *Spaniards* in *America* upon the score of their Religion; but I hope he will also grant me, that it is much more for the *Spanish* Interest, not to be troubled with any Neighbours at all there, that may be in any probability to interfere with them either in Power or Traffick; but whether the *Spaniards* will be able, as the case now stands, to gain this point, is what must be the present Object of our consideration.

I will for once suppose the *Scots* to be so unanimous in this matter, as our Author would have them, yet it is much to be doubted whether they would be so fond of a Project that is subject to so many Casualties, and to no small danger of succeeding, as the Nobility, Gentry, and others, to mortgage their Estates upon that Score; but supposing they should, it would still be a question, Whether they could be in a condition to procure time enough, such a number of serviceable Ships, and other Necessaries requisite
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for the maintaining themselves at *Darien* even against the *Spaniards* alone. For, granting they should not be in a capacity to force the *Scots* from their Fortifications, they have other means to annoy and intercept their Convoys, which, considering a Communication betwixt the *English West-India* Plantations, and the *Scots* Settlement, is taken off, may in all likelihood reduce them to a starving condition there, or at the best put the *Scots East-India* Company under a necessity of providing their Ships with such strong Convoys, at so great a distance, that the Charge may surmount the Profit, notwithstanding the hopes of their rich Mines.

What our *Calidonian* says of giving Commissions to the Buccaneers, is little to the purpose, it being evident that they have no power so to do by virtue of their Letters Patents, and that consequently by so doing, they must put themselves in the same range with them, which would be the ready way for them to forfeit all the Title they can pretend to upon that Settlement.

But supposing the *Scots* should put the *Spaniards* so hard to it, as to be obliged to seek for aid by the *French*, who at this juncture seem to be very forward to purchase their good will at any rate, it is very probable that they may have their Assistance upon much easier terms, than the Surrender of *Darien* into their Hands; neither is it to be questioned, but that the *Spaniards*, who are jealous of the *French* to the highest degree, might take such sure Measures as to the Number and other Circumstances of the *French* Auxiliaries, as might free them from the danger of being surprized by them, especially at this time, when the *French* are so cautious of creating a Jealousie in that Nation.

What our Author alledges of *Ceuta*, is no parallel to this; the only reason of the *Spaniards* refusing the Offers of the *French* as to the relief of that place, being no more, than that they thought it inconsistent with their Grandeur, to leave the Glory of relieving a place, which is so near them, to a Foreign Na-

Nation, when as yet they were sufficiently able to defend it against the *Moors*.

It may also be consider'd, That the *French* have not shewn so much inclination to get a firm footing in *America*, as our Author would fain persuade us; for what reason I will not pretend to determine; but certain it is, that when Monsieur de *Ponté* had made himself Master of *Carthagena*, they might with as much probability have defended themselves there against the *Spaniards*, as the *Scots* in their Settlement at *Darien*. And if *Darien* was of so much consequence to *France*, what could hinder them from settling there, when Monsieur de *Ponté* touch'd at that place in his way to *Carthagena*. Which makes it very evident that the *French* did not think it for their Interest to plant any Colonies at this time in *America*, or at least not at or near *Darien*.

D E F E N C E.

But admitting (says our *Caledonian*) that the *Spaniards* should so far mistake their Interest, as to accept of the Proffers of the *French* to expel the *Scots*, it is not impossible for the latter to find other Allies than the *English* to assist them with a Naval Force to maintain their Possession.

The *Dutch* are known to be a People that seldom or never mistake their Interest: They are sensible how useful the Alliance of *Scotland* may be to them, both in regard of their Liberty to Fish in our Seas without controul, and of being a Curb upon *England*, in case the old Roman Maxim of *delenda est Carthago*, should come any more to be applied by the *English* to that Republick, as in the Reign of King *Charles II*. They are likewise sensible of the Advantage it would be to their Trade to be Partners with the *Scots* at *Darien*; and how effectual it may be to disable the *French* to pursue their Claim to *Spain*, and by consequence to revive the old Title of that Crown upon their own seven, as well as to

swallow up the other Ten Provinces. These things, together with a long continued Amity and Trade betwixt *Scotland* and *Holland*, and their Union in Religion and Ecclesiastical Discipline, are sufficient to evince that the *Dutch* would become our Partners in *America* with little Courtship. That they are able to assist us in that case with a Naval Force sufficient, is beyond contradiction; and that they would soon be convinc'd it is their Interest to do it, to prevent that monstrous Increase of the French Monarchy, is obvious enough from the Part they Acted in the late War.

But admitting that none of those Considerations should prevail with the *Dutch*, and that they should likewise abandon us; it is not impossible for us to obtain an Alliance and Naval Force from the Northern Crowns: It's well enough known that those Kingdoms abound with Men and Shipping, and that they would be glad with all their hearts to make an Exchange of these for the Gold and Silver of *America*, which they might easily carry from Town to Town, and from Market to Market, without the trouble of a Wheel-barrow, as they are now obliged to do with their Copper. From all which it is evident enough that it is not impossible for the *Scots* to maintain themselves in *Darien* without the Assistance of *England*.

A N S W E R.

Tho' it may not be altogether impossible, yet it appears to me very improbable, that the *Scots* should be able to maintain their Settlement without the Assistance of the *English*, who, by reason of their many and considerable Plantations in the *West-Indies*, are the only People from whom the *Scots* might have seasonable assistance, especially with Provisions; what our *Caledonian* says concerning the Alliances with the *Dutch* or the Northern Crowns, are meer Chimeras: For, first I would ask him, how the *Scots* can
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enter into any such Alliance in opposition to *England*? But supposing they could, the *Dutch*, who as he tells us himself, seldom mistake their Interest, have the same Reasons that *England* has, to oppose the *Scots East-India Company*, because of their vast Commerce in those Parts; and the *Spanish Trade* is of such consequence to them, that they will scarce be perswaded by our Author, to break with *Spain*, and consequently to lose the Advantage of their Traffick in that Kingdom, for the uncertain hopes of his *Darien Mines*. What he says of the Usefulness of the *Scots Alliance* to *Holland*, in case of a Rupture with *England*, is said to no purpose at this time of the day, and is besides this Founded upon another supposition, viz, That the *Scots* must be in a Condition to assist them, which they are not likely to do as long as they are united with *England* under one Head. But our *Caledonian* tells us strange Wonders about the Northern Crowns; he takes a great deal of pains to give us to understand, that Gold and Silver would be much more convenient for the *Swedes* and *Danes*, than Copper; truly, I will not quarrel with him upon this Point, but I am apt to believe, that they will scarce part with their Men and Shipping before they are better convinced what share they are to have of them, and whether the *Scots* are able to make good their Promises; for without that, they had better keep to their Copper, which yields them good Money in Foreign Countries. Besides that their great distance makes their assistance very difficult and uncertain, if not quite useless, it being the Opinion of most People who have a true insight into this matter, that the want of seasonable Supplies, which must be sent at so great a distance, will oblige the *Scots* to quit their Settlement of *Darien*, unless they will rather chuse their Graves amongst their imaginary Mines, where we will leave them to their own Destiny, and apply to them the Epitaph the Poet made upon the Hare-brain'd *Phaeton*.

*Hic situs est Phaeton, currus auriga paterni
Quem si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis.*

But we must hear what he further says upon the fourth and last Head.

D E F E N C E.

The next thing to be discours'd of, is, what the Consequences may probably be, if the *English* should oppose us in this Settlement.

We could heartily wish there had never been any ground for this Suggestion, and that the Opposition we have met with from *England*, hath been less National than that which we had from both their Houses of Parliament, after the passing an Act for an *African* Company, &c. in ours: And it were to be wish'd that so many of the *English* had not given us such proofs of an alienated Mind, and Aversion to our Welfare, as they have done since by their Resident at *Hambourgh*, and their late Proclamations in their *West-India* Plantations: And we could have wish'd above all that His Majesty of *England* had not in the least concurr'd, or giv'n his Countenance to that Opposition; And we could wish that his *English* Counsellors, who put him upon those things, would remember that *Strafford* and *Laud* lost their Heads for giving King *Charles I.* that fatal Advice of oppressing and opposing the *Scots*.

A N S W E R.

It is not denied but that those two Lords were, by the *Presbyterian* Party, Sacrificed to their Covenanting Brethren in *Scotland*, but what is that to the Point

Point in question, since what has been done in opposition to the *Scots* Settlement, is, by his own Confession, a National Concern, back'd by the Authority of both Houses of Parliament in *England*; and it cannot be look'd upon any otherwise, than as a most unaccountable Arrogance in our *Caledonian*, who stiles himself a Private Man in his Dedication, to call in question, and that in so gross a manner, what has been done in this Matter by His Majesty and His Parliament, for the promoting and maintaining their own Commerce: But let us see how he proceeds further upon this Head.

D E F E N C E.

We did verily think (says he) that the suffering of our Crown to be United with that of *England* in the Person of King *James* their I. and our VI; our seasonable coming to the Rescue of their expiring Liberties in the Reign of King *Charles* I. our being so instrumental to rescue them from Anarchy and Confusion, by the Restoration of King *Charles* II. and above all, or generous and frank Concurrence with them in the late happy Revolution, and Advancement of King *William* III. We did verily think, that all these things deserv'd a better Treatment: And to evince that they did, we shall beg leave to insist a little upon the first and last.

The *English* have no cause to think that we were ignorant of the Reason why their Politick *Henry* VII. chose rather to Match his Eldest Daughter with the King of *Scots*, than with the King of *France*, because he foresaw, that if the King of *Scots* should by that means come to the Crown of *England*, he would remove the Seat of his Government thither, which would add to the Grandure and Riches of *England*: Whereas if the King of *France* did by that

that means fall Heir to the *English* Crown, he would certainly draw the Court of *England* to *Paris*. This the *Scots* were so far from being ignorant of, that many of the Nobility and Gentry did express their dislike of the Union of the Crowns, as well knowing that it would reduce our Kingdom into a Subjection and Dependence upon *England*, and drain us of what Substance we had; and therefore some of them express'd themselves on that occasion, That *Scotland* was never Conquer'd till then: Yet such was our Zeal for the Common Welfare of the Island, the Interest of the *Protestant Religion*, and of *Europe* in general, which were then almost in as much danger by *Spain*, as they have been since by *France*, that we quietly and freely parted with our King, and suffer'd him to accept the *English* Crown, rather than that Nation should be involv'd in War and Confusion, and the *Protestant Religion* endanger'd by another Successor, as it must necessarily have been, had the *Infanta* of *Spain*, whose Title was then promoted by the *Popish* Interest, succeeded. And all the Reward we had for this Condescension and Kindness, was a Contemptuous and Disdainful Refusal, on the part of *England*, of an Union of the Nations when propos'd, tho' the same would visibly have tended to the Benefit of the whole Island, the general Advantage of *Europe*, and the Security and Increase of the *Protestant* Interest. And our King was so little thankful on his part, that tho' he promis'd solemnly in the Great Church of *Edinburgh* before his Departure, that he would visit his Ancient Kingdom once in three Years, he never saw it after but once, and that not till Fourteen Years after. And by the influence of that same Faction in *England*, who are still our Enemies, he made Innovations both in Church and State. These were the first Advantages we had by the Union of the Crowns.

His Son King *Charles I.* had scarce ascended the Throne, when we had new Proofs of the Disadvantages we labour'd under by that Union; for he by the Advice of some Enemies to our Nation, did in
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an Imperious and Arbitrary manner send for our Crown, tho' the only Monument almost left us of our Independency and Freedom; but was generously answer'd by him that had it in keeping, That if he would come and be Crown'd in *Scotland*, he should have all the Honour done him that ever was to his Ancestors; but if he did not think it worth his while, they might perhaps be inclin'd to make choice of another Sovereign, or to that effect; as recorded in the Continuation of Sir *Richard Baker's* History.

Another Disadvantage we had by that Union of the Crown, was this, That that Unfortunate Prince being inspir'd with an Aversion to the Constitution of our Country, by his Education made War upon us to bring us to a Conformity with *England* in Church-Matters.

We shall not here offer to debate which of the Churches was best Constituted, or most agreeable to the Scripture-Pattern: It suffices for our Argument, That we were Injur'd in having a Foreign Model offer'd to be obtruded upon us, which was the Consequence of the Union of the Crowns, and of having our King Educated in another Nation; but that was not all, another mischievous Effect of the Union was this, That whatever King *Charles* had deserv'd at our Hands, yet out of Natural Affection, Conscience and Honour, we were oblig'd to do what we could to prevent his Illegal Trial and Death, and to defend his Son's Title, which threw us into Convulsions at Home, occasion'd us the loss of several Armies, and expos'd our Nation afterwards to Ruine and Devastation, by our implacable Enemy the Usurper, which together with the Ungrateful Retributions made us by the Government after the Restoration, were enough to have wearied any Nation under Heav'n, but our selves, of the Union of the Crowns.

A N S W E R.

Our *Caledonian*, as I believe, being somewhat mistrustful of the strength of the *Scots* Title, as well as of his Arguments, to perswade the *English*, that it is for their Interest to maintain the *Scots* in their New Settlement, thinks it best to take other Measures now; and to try whether he can hector them into a Compliance with the *Scots*; he sets the best Countenance upon the Matter, and labours very hard to give the World to understand, that the *English* are highly indebted to the *Scots*, for suffering, as he terms it, their Crown to be United with that of *England*.

I will not enter into a Dispute with him, about the design of *Henry VII.* in Marrying his Daughter to the King of *Scots*. I will allow him to have acted in this Point as much for the Interest of *England*, as our Author would have him; but what is all this to their suffering the two Crowns to be United under one Head. I hope he will grant me, that both the *English* and *Scots* Crowns were Hereditary; and being such, how was it in the Power of the *Scots* to alter the Succession upon that Score? I will further allow him, that whenever two Kingdoms, or States are United under one Head, the less Potent will in some measure be independent on the other: But I would also have him grant me this Position, That if at that Juncture the Infanta of *Spain* had succeeded in *England*, the *Protestant* Interest both in *England* and *Scotland*, must have been brought into no small Jeopardy, and our Author would have had no great occasion at this time to brag of the Sovereignty and Independency of the *Scots*. He makes a large Rehearsal of the Miscarriages in the Reign of King *James I.* and King *Charles I.* especially of their Innovations in Church Matters in *Scotland*; but our Author might have remembered if they introduced Episcopacy among them, they were not
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behind hand in furnishing *England* with Presbytery. What he alledges concerning their Sufferings in the Civil Wars, for the Defence of K. *Charles I.* and his Sons Title, ought not to be put upon the *English* Score. I wonder how he can be so forgetful as not to remember, That the *Scots* Covenanters were of that Gang that begun the Dance, and all the reason in the World they should help to pay the Fidler; And this is so unquestionably true, that many of the wiser sort are of Opinion, That the Presbyterian Faction would never have carried Matters to that height, under that unfortunate Prince's Reign, if they had not been back'd by the Covenanting Party in *Scotland*; So that *England* may in a great measure lay the Calamities of the late Civil Wars, and its fatal Consequences, to their Doors, which our Author would fain put altogether upon the *English*. But let us see how he goes on in magnifying his beloved *Scots*.

D E F E N C E.

Yet such was our Zeal for the Protestant Interest, the Welfare of the Island, and the Liberty of *Europe*, that tho' we had a fair opportunity of providing otherwise for our security and the Advancement of our Trade, and of forming our selves into a Commonwealth, or of bringing *England* to our own Terms, yet we frankly and generously concurr'd with them to settle our Government on the same Persons, and in the same manner as they did theirs, and all the Reward we had from them, is, that an Union of the Nations, tho' twice propos'd by His Majesty in Parliament, hath been rejected: To this they have added an opposition to our receiving Foreign Subscriptions at *Hamburg* and elsewhere, refus'd us a Supply of Corn for our Money,

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to relieve us in our Distress; and discourag'd our Settlement at *Darien*, by forbidding their Subjects to Trade with us there. If these continued Slights be not enough to make us weary of the Union of the Crowns, let any Man judge.

To discover a little of the unreasonableness of this sort of Treatment, we dare Appeal to the calm thoughts of such of our Neighbours in *England*, as prefer the Interest of the Publick to private Animosities, and foolish ill-grounded Piques, either as to Church or State; whether at the time of the Revolution, and before we declar'd our selves, they would not have been willing to have assur'd themselves of our Friendship, at the rate of Uniting with us as one Nation? Had we but demurr'd upon forfeiting the late *K. James*, or made but a Proffer of renewing our ancient League with *France*, and joyning with that Crown to keep that Prince upon the Throne of *Great Britain*; they know we might have made what Terms we pleas'd with the late King and *Louis XIV.* on that condition, and might have been restor'd to all the Honours and Privileges that our Ancestors enjoy'd in *France*, which were almost equal to those of the Natives; and yet that gallant Nation thought it no disparagement to them, however we be despis'd and undervalued now by a certain Party in *England*.

Had we but seem'd to have made such Overtures, the *English* must needs have foreseen that the natural Consequences of such a Design, if it had taken effect, must have been these, *viz.* The late King's Adherents in *England* would certainly have join'd us, and our Nation would have afforded them a safe Retreat, in case of any Disaster, till they could have concerted Matters to the best Advantage; The late King would not have yielded himself such an easie Conquest, not disbanded his Army in such a manner as he did; *Ireland* had certainly revolted, since every one knows that the Revolution was begun, and in a great measure perfected there by the *Scots* of the

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the North ; so that *England* must have become the Theatre of the War, and been liable to an Invasion from *France*.

These must certainly have been the Consequences of our adhering to the late King, and the *English* would have thought they had had a very good Bargain if they could have bought us off in that case with Uniting both the Kingdoms into one, and granting us a joint Trade to their own Plantations; whereas now they will not allow us to settle a foreign Colony of our own, and treat us as Foreigners in theirs.

A N S W E R.

Our Author has so entangled himself in pleading for the *Scots*, that he is almost beyond his Senses; for what Man, who is in his right Wits, could propose an Alliance with *France*, (which is in effect no less than to make *Scotland* a Province of *France*) as more advantageous to the *Scots* than their Concurrence with *England* in the last Revolution; for if they were become so indifferent as to their so much bragg'd of Liberty and Sovereignty, and their Religion to Boot, what need they have chang'd Masters? since King *James* would have eas'd them of both; and it appears to me, as if our *Caledonian* was rather for the last, since he takes so much pains to represent to us the consequences of it in the most passionate manner that could be: But if the matter be duly weigh'd, he has shot much beyond the mark; for supposing the *Scots* to have stood it out against *England* for King *James*, (tho' I must confess it implies almost an absurdity to suppose it) the consequences would not have been half so terrible as he would persuade us; for *Scotland*, being, by reason of its Situation, not easie to be relieved by *France*, as

long as the *English* and *Dutch* were Masters at Sea, they might perhaps have proved troublesome, but not so dangerous Neighbours, as to make *England* the Theatre of War; and it is, I think, odds on the *English* side, that they might have served them as *Cromwel* did; that is, to bring them under an entire Subjection, whereas they now enjoy many Privileges beyond other Foreigners, and have born but a very slender share in those vast Sums expended for the Glory and Interest of the Island in general.

It is not to be denied, but that their ready Concurrence did hasten the Conquest of *Ireland*; but I am apt to believe, that their refusal would scarce have appear'd so dreadful to the *English*, as to make them receive Laws from the *Scots*.

I cannot pass by in silence here with what Arrogance he is pleased to reflect upon the Measures taken in *England* on the account of the *Scots East-India* Company, when it is beyond all question, That every independent Nation has an inherent Right to secure their Commerce against the encroachments of a Neighbouring Nation, which is the true state of the Case; which our Author terms Ingratitude, and I know not what, in the *English*, who did no more than to represent their Grievance to His Majesty's Consideration. He runs on further thus.

D E F E N C E.

To shew that this is not a mere Conjecture, that has no other ground but a Vision of the Brain, they may be pleas'd to consider the honourable Privileges granted us by their Ancestors, and some of the greatest Princes that ever sway'd their Scepter, viz. King *Edward* and *William* the Conqueror, who by the Consent of the States in Parliament assembled, Enacted, That the *Scots* should be accounted *Denizens* of *England*, and enjoy the same Privileges with themselves, because of their frequent Intermariages with the *English*,

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English, and that they did ever stood stoutly as one Man with them for the common Utility of the Crown and Kingdom, against the Danes and Norwegians, fought it most valiantly and unanimously against the common Enemy, and bore the burden of most fierce Wars in the Kingdom. This they will find in a Book, call'd, *Archæionomia*, translated from the Saxon by William Lambard, and Printed at London by John Day, in 1568.

It must be granted, that the Reasons of such a grateful Retribution are redoubled now : Intermariages betwixt the two Nations are more frequent than ever; the Union of the Kingdoms under one Crown for almost 100 years ; the generous Concurrence of the Scots in the last Revolution ; their loss of so many gallant Officers and brave Soldiers in the common Cause during the late War, and the preservation of Ireland, which hath been twice owing to our Countrymen, might reasonably entitle us to the same Privileges now, that our Ancestors were formerly allow'd by K. *Edward* and *William* the Conqueror. We need not insist on another sort of Obligation, that we have put upon *England* twice within this 60 years, viz. The delivering them from their Oppressions in the time of K. *Charles I.* the Anarchy of the Rump, and several Models of Armies and Juntos, by encouraging General *Monk's* Undertaking ; for it cannot be denied that we had the Balance of *Europe* in our hands at the time of the last Revolution, and that we turn'd the Scale to the advantage of *England* in particular, and of *Europe* in general, which must be allow'd to be as great a Service, as that which was so thankfully rewarded by *Edward*, and *William* the Conqueror ; whence it is evident, that those *Englishmen*, who at present oppose our Settlement in *America*, don't inherit the gratitude of their Ancestors, when they not only will not allow us to Trade in Conjunction with them, but withstand our doing any thing that may advance a Trade by our selves.

If they object, That what we did in all those Cases was no more than our Duty, and what we ow'd to our own Preservation as well as to theirs; it is easie to reply, That admitting it to be so, yet by the Laws of God and Men, People are incourag'd to perform their Duties by Rewards; and their Ancestors were so sensible of this, that tho' they knew we were equally concern'd to defend the Island against foreign Invaders as well as they, yet they thought themselves oblig'd in Policy as well as Gratitude, to Reward us; which they not only did by that Honorary *Premium* of allowing us to be Denizens of *England*, as above-mention'd, but sometimes gave to us, and at other times confirm'd to us the three Northern Counties of *Northumberland*, *Westmorland*, and *Cumberland*, to be held in Fee of the Crown of *England*.

It is likewise very well known with how much Honour the Parliament of *England* treated us, when they courted our Assistance against King *Charles I.* and what large Promises that Prince made us, if we would have but stood Neuter; which tho' we had reason to think many of those that opposed him had no great kindness neither for our Civil nor Ecclesiastical Constitution, yet the sense that we had of the common Danger that our Religion and Liberties were in at that time, made us proof against all those Tentations; so that after all Endeavours for a Reconciliation betwixt the King and the Parliament of *England* prov'd unsuccessful, we sent in an Army, which cast the Balance on the side of the latter; who before that time were reduc'd low enough by the King's Army, as is very well known to such as are acquainted with the History of those times, and is own'd by my Lord *Hollis* in his Memoirs lately publish'd.

A N S W E R.

Our *Caledonian* most extreamly misses his aim, in relating those Matters as Obligations done to *England*; for which they have but little reason to be thankful to them: Their behaviour under the Reign of *K. Charles I.* was such, that the *English* ought to keep it in eternal Remembrance; and in lieu of Acknowledgment, rather ought to take care of them, so that they may not be able for the future to be the Incendiaries of a Civil War, as they were at that time. For, after they had put all *England* into Confusion by their Encouraging, and afterwards declaring for the Presbyterian Faction; after, I say, they had been instrumental in bringing this unfortunate Prince to his fatal End, they took the opportunity of siding with his Son; not out of any love to his Person, or to maintain his rightful Title, as may appear by those Conditions they imposed upon him; but to Revéngé themselves upon those, who had wrested the Power out of their Hands, and afterwards made them bear their share in those Miseries they had brought upon *England*.

Certainly our Author must think the *English* to be very ill versed in their own History, when he alledges, the *Scots* to have had any share in General *Monk's* Undertaking, who can be so ignorant as not to know, that all what this General desired from, and was granted by the Convention of the *Scots*, was to furnish him with so much Money, as might maintain his Army in their march to *London*; and there is no question, but they understood their Interest so well, as that they would have parted with a far greater Sum to rid their hands of a conquering Army in their Bowels, and to set the *English* together by the Ears among themselves, by which means they might hope to recover their lost Liberty.

For

For the rest, it is sufficiently evident, That if General *Monk* had at that time any Thoughts of recalling the King, (which I much question) he had more Prudence than to Communicate it to the *Scots* or any body else; For if the Rump had had the least suspicion of his design, they would scarce have made him General of all the Forces in the three Nations.

This is the true state of the Case, as to the first of these Obligations, our *Calidonian* brags of: What he says of *Scotland's* turning the Balance in the time of the late Revolution, when it was in their hands, shews so much Vanity and want of Judgment in point of Policy, that it deserves no Answer; and I am apt to believe, the wiser sort among the *Scots* will owe him but little thanks for representing them as a People who could fall under a possibility of mistaking their own Interest and Preservation so far, as to let slip so extraordinary an opportunity, as was offered them by Providence, to secure their Religion and Liberty, and in lieu of that to Embrace a foreign Protection; or to speak truer, to submit their Necks under a Foreign Yoke, rather than to Unite themselves with the *English* under one Head; who perhaps, notwithstanding their foreign Alliances, might have taken this opportunity to bring them once for all to Reason, as *Cromwel* did, who's Title to *Scotland*, as their Conqueror, was own'd by all *Europe*. He goes on thus:

D E F E N C E.

But to return to the last Revolution: Tho' we must own, that we owe our Deliverance to His Majesty, and were oblig'd in Conscience and Honour to concur with him; yet who could have blam'd us to have stood upon Terms before we had fallen in with *England*? especially, considering how ungratefully (nay villainously) we were treated by *Cromwel* and his Party, after we had sav'd them
and

and the Parliament of *England* from the Scorpions that the Cavaliers had prepar'd to Chastise them with; as is own'd by the said Lord *Hollis*. Nor could we have been any way culpable, if we had stood upon surer Terms, considering how unthankfully we were used, and Enslav'd by our late Kings, for whom we had acted and suffered so much. And tho' we must own, That no less Present than that of our Crown was sufficient to testifie our Gratitude for what the Prince of *Orange* had done for us, yet we were under no necessity of gratifying him in that manner, since our Deliverance was effected before-hand, and that he himself, in his Declaration, express'd it to be no part of his Design to come for the Crown; so that our Reward was as Frank and Generous.

Then as to *England*, we were under no manner of obligation to continue the Union with them: We might have insisted upon having our King obliged to reside as much amongst us as amongst them: That we should be govern'd without any consideration or respect to their Interest, any further than it fell in with our own. We might have insisted upon an Act that we should not be oblig'd to attend His Majesty at any time at the Court of *England*, about our Affairs; but that he should either attend upon our Administration in Person *pro re nata*, as he does now upon the Affairs of *Holland*, or lay down Methods to have his Pleasure signified to us at Home in such Cases as it was requir'd; which would save a vast deal of Money annually to the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Then as to the Succession, we were under no necessity of settling it in the same manner as they did in *England*: For since they had made a Breach in the Line, they could not handsomly have blam'd us to have made an improvement of it, and either to have limited the Reversion after His present Majesty's Death, as we should have thought best, for the security of our Civil and Religious Liberties; or we might have settled it upon the Prince of *Orange*, and his Issue by any other Wife, there being cause enough

nough then to conceive that he was never like to have any by his late Excellent Princess: Had we taken any of these Methods, it must be own'd that *England* would have been considerably weakned by it; that we should have thereby had an opportunity of making such Foreign Alliances with *France*, as formerly, or with any other Nation as would have made *England* uneasie, and perhaps unsafe on occasion; and therefore it must be reckon'd highly Impolitick in our Neighbours, to treat us continually at such a rate, since we have so many open Doors to get out at.

They must not think that we have so far degenerated from the Courage and Honour of our Ancestors, as raelly to submit to become their Vassals, when for Two Thousand Years we have maintain'd our Freedom; and therefore it is not their Interest to oppress us too much. If they consult their Histories, they will find that we always broke their Yoke at long run, if at any time we were brought under it. The best way to assure themselves of us, is to treat us in a Friendly manner: Tho' we be not so Great and Powerful as they, it is not impossible for us to find such Allies as may enable us to defend our selves now, as well as formerly.

None of these things are suggested with an ill design to raise Animosity betwixt the Nations, or to perswade to a Separation of the Crowns, but merely to shew those of our Neighbours, who use us so unkindly, that they are bound in Gratitude, and Interest, to do otherwise, and particularly to support us in our *American* Settlement, and not to discourage us in that Undertaking, as they have hitherto done, and continue still to do in their *American* Colonies, by their Proclamations against having any Commerce, or Trade with the *Scots* at *Darien*; tho' they be settled there, according to the Terms of an Act of Parliament in *Scotland*.

A N S W E R.

It is a most unaccountable piece of Insolence (not to say worse) in our *Caledonian*, to make use of such harsh Expressions, for no other reason, but because the *English* Parliament represented to His Majesty in a most Humble Address, the Danger the Commerce of *England* was likely to be exposed to by the Encroachments of the New *Scots* Company; and His Majesty's Answer to their Address, might have been a sufficient Warning to our *Scots* Politician, that he was sensible of the Justice of their Request; and, that, as he had shewn himself a good King to the *Scots*, in granting them His Letters Patents, He thought it reasonable not to deny His *English* Subjects any legal means to relieve themselves against that Danger. But our Author is so much overcome with the Conceits of his own Politicks, that he spares the *Scots* Convention, as little as the *English* Parliament, whom he boldly accuses for want of Conduct, at the Time of the late Revolution, because they did not make better Terms with the *English*, before their Concurrence with them. But those Wise Patriots who compos'd that great Assembly, were too sensible of the Danger that threatned them, if in lieu of Uniting their Strength with ours, they should miss this Opportunity of Rescuing themselves from the Weight of those Oppressions they had groan'd under for some Years before, and spend their Time in insisting upon such Trifles as are mentioned here by our *Caledonian*, and don't deserve any Answer.

I will only insist upon one Point; I believe there is scarce any Body but what will grant me, that considering they had a considerable Party Headed by the Lord *Dundee*, who were their Enemies within their Bowels, it was impossible for them to stand Neuter; and considering how dangerous an Alliance

with *France* might have prov'd at that Juncture; nay, how useleſs it muſt have been to them, when the *English* and *Dutch* were Maſters a Sea, what other way had they left for their own Preſervation, than to ſettle the Government upon the ſame Bottom as they did, which being moſt conformable to the true ancient Conſtitution of an Hereditary Monarchy, did free them from the danger of falling into new Diſſentions at Home, in caſe of any ſiniſter Accident. He goes on in his Plea.

D E F E N C E.

We are not inſenſible that the preſent Juncture of Affairs obliges the Kingdom of *England* to carry fair with *Spain*, and may admit that in part as an Apology for ſome of that Oppoſition we have met with from them; but the queſtioning our Act of Parliament at firſt, and their hindring our Subſcriptions at *Hamburgh* afterward, before ever they knew what our deſign was, make that Excuse of little weight. But allowing it all the force they would have it to bear, it may be worth their while to conſider whether it be more their Intereſt to encourage the *Spaniards* in an unjuſt Oppoſition to our *American* Settlement; or to ſupport the *Scots* in maintaining their Right. It is certain that the *Spaniards* are in no condition to break with *England*; or if they ſhould, it's in the Power of the *English* to reduce them ſpeedily to reaſon: Whereas if the *Scots* ſhould miſcarry in their Undertakings by the Diſcouragements from *England* before-mentioned, which expoſes our Ships to be taken and treated as Pirates by any Nation that pleaſes, the inſallible conſequence of it will be, that the Ruine and Impoveriſhment of *Scotland*, which muſt neceſſarily follow ſuch a Miſcarriage, will immediately affect *England* both in her Trade and Strength: The City of *London* and the Northern Road, will ſoon feel the effects of it, when the Money ſpent by our Gentry and Merchants continually

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for Cloaths, Provisions, and Goods, ceases to circulate there: *England* may become an easier Prey to a Foreign Enemy; since it will not be only the Lots of a Tribe, but of an entire Sister-Nation. Or supposing that *Scotland* should be able to bear up under the Weight of it, it will lay the Foundation of an irreconcilable Feud, and may perhaps issue in a War betwixt the two Nations; which did never yet terminate at long-run to the Advantage of *England*, and is as unlikely to do so now as ever: For in such a Case they would find us Unanimous as one Man against them: And therefore those who are Enemies to the Peace of the Nations, being aware of this, labour to effect their Design by another Method, and endeavour as much as they can to dash the Government and us against one another. But they are mistaken in the People of *Scotland*: We are sensible of our Obligations to King *William*, and know so well what is due to our Deliverer, that it surpasses all their Art to create in us the least ill Thought of him; it is not in the Temper of our Nation. The World knows that however frequent and successful we have been in reducing our bad Kings to Reason, yet there was never any People under the Sun more Loyal and Affectionate to good Princes than we have been; and if, when we have been forc'd to oppose our Monarchs, private Persons have sometimes carried their Resentments too high, yet the publick Justice of the Nation was always govern'd with Temper.

We could multiply Instances to prove this, but need go no higher than the three last Kings, whotho all of them Enemies to our Constitution, as appear'd by their Principles and Practices, yet its very well known what we both did and suffer'd for them, and particularly for King *Charles I.* tho' the Malice of a Faction in our Neighbouring Nation, fix'd a Scandalous Reproach upon us, as if we had Sold him; from which Reflection we are sufficiently vindicated by the Lord *Holles's* Memoirs before-mention'd; wherein that excellent Person makes it evident,

evident, that tho' our War against that Prince was just, yet we had all possible Respect for his Persons, made the best Conditions we could for his Safety and Honour, and to avoid greater Mischiefs, and the playing of our Enemies Game to the Ruine of our selves and His Majesty, we were necessitated to leave him in *England*. *Memoirs* p. 68.

Then since we carried it so to a Prince that had been no way kind to us, it will be impossible to create a Breach betwixt us and a Prince, to whom, under God, we owe all that we enjoy as Men and *Christians*: But at the same time our Neighbours, who think to drive that Nail as far as it will go, would do well to consider, that we never believ'd that Doctrine in *Scotland*, That it is unlawful to resist a King, or any that have a Commission under him, upon any pretence whatsoever: We left that Doctrine in *Scythia*, from whence some Authors derive our Origin, and think it only fit to be sent back to *Turkey*, from whence it came.

We know very well how to distinguish betwixt a Lawful Power, and the Abuse of it; and our Ancestors rightly understood how to Obey the Lawful Commands of their Princes, when Masters of themselves, and how to Govern by their Authority, and in their Name, when they were not; tho' they did not think themselves obliged to obey their Personal Commands, when the Fortune of War, or other Accidents had put them into the Hands of our Enemies.

Thus we refused Obedience to K. *James I.* when detain'd Prisoner in *England*, contrary to the Law of Nations, and carried over into *France*, to Command his Subjects there not to bear Arms against the *English* Army, where he was in Person. We told him we knew how to distinguish betwixt the Commands of a King, and those of a Captive.

A N S W E R.

Here is a Flourish indeed upon the Behaviour of the *Scots* towards their good and bad Kings, to comment upon which, would require a whole Volume, we will only take notice here of what he says concerning their selling King *Charles I.* to the *English*, of which he clears his Countrymen, but very indifferently, the whole amounting to no more, than that they made the best Terms for him and themselves too, which does not take away the Stain of surrendering their Prince to his Enemies when they had a good Army to back their Pretensions. The rest is taken up with his Arguments to convince the World, that the *English* ought at this Juncture, to prefer the interest of *Scotland* before that of *Spain*, upon which Head we have said so much already, that I think it needless to make a fulsome Repetition of it here. I will only add thus much; That it may be hoped that those who have the Management of the *Scots East-India Company*, will have more Prudence than to venture their All upon that Bottom; and, that consequently *Scotland*, if they miscarry in this Undertaking, will not be in so much danger of being utterly ruin'd, as this Gentleman imagines. His threatening Speculations about a War betwixt the two Nations, and the Unanimity of the *Scots* against us, scarce deserves to be taken notice of since I see no reason why he should suppose the *English* so unconcerned at their own Interest, as to act with less Vigour against them, than they would against us, which I am apt to believe would not turn to the Advantage of *Scotland*, all this time, when the *English* are more Potent than ever, and the *Scots* have not the same Prospect of being back'd by a Foreign Power, as they were in former Times, when by reason of our Civil Dissensions they proved sometimes troublesome, but never were dangerous Neighbours. But let us see, what he has further to say upon this Head

D E F E N C E.

To return to the Point of what may probably be the Consequences if the *English* should proceed to any further degree of opposition; or if the *Scots* should miscarry in the Design. It's reasonable to believe that the *English* will be so wise as to forbear Hostilities, tho' we are very well satisfied there is a Party in that Nation who bear ours no good will; it's to be hop'd they will never be able so far to leave the sound part of the *English* Nation, as to occasion a Rupture betwixt them and us: Yet we must needs say that we look upon their way of treating us to be a very unaccountable thing, and that it was no small Surprize to us, to find that the *English* should look on our taking Subscriptions in *England*, in order to admit them Joint-Sharers with our selves, in the Benefit of the Act to encourage our Trade, to be no less than a high Misdemeanour. We have reason likewise to complain of their constant practice of pressing our Seamen in time of War, as if they were their own Subjects, and that they should treat us in other respects as if we were Aliens: And sometimes confiscate Ships, by reckoning *Scots* Mariners as such: So that the *English* have not only depriv'd us of the warm Influences of our Court, the want of which is a considerable addition to the natural coldness of our Climate, but they likewise oppress us on all occasions, and do manifestly endeavour to prevent our Application to Trade. We know there's a Party in that Nation, who think we sustained no great loss by the removal of our Princes; but we would wish them to consider what a murmuring they themselves make when the King goes annually to the *Netherlands* (tho' the Safety of *Europe* requires it) because of the Damp it puts upon Trade, and the Money it carries out of the Kingdom.

Let them consider then what our Nation has suffer'd in that respect now for almost an Hundred Years,

years, besides the lessening our esteem in the Eyes of the World, and yet they will neither admit us to the Privileges of Fellow-Subjects with themselves, nor suffer us to take such measures as may enable us stand on our own bottom.

We know that it was a Maxim in some of the late Reigns, That it would never be well till all that part of *Scotland* on this side *Forth*, were reduc'd to a Hunting-field; but we were in hopes the bitterness of those days had been past; yet it seems that Party have still so far the ascendant amongst our Neighbours, as to procure a publick opposition to all our Endeavours for raising our Nation by Trade.

It will upon due Examination be found as bad Policy as it is Christianity, to urge, as some of our Neighbours do, that it is the Interest of *England* to keep the *Scots* low, because they are an independent and free Nation, and were our ancient Enemies; and therefore may be dangerous Neighbours if they grow rich and potent. Nothing but Rancour and inveterate Malice can suggest such four thoughts as these. It were fit that sort of Men should be purg'd of their Choler. The *Scots* to obviate all dangers from that Head, have, tho' they be much the ancienter Nation, condescended so far as several times to propose an Union, which the Gentlemen of that *Kidney* have hitherto prevented; and therefore we would wish them to look back into their Histories, and upon casting up their Accounts, make a true Estimate of whatever they gain'd by a War with *Scotland*. They will find that their Ancestors, as well as the *Romans*, have been sensible, as *Tacitus* expresses it, *Quos sibi Viros Caledonia sepe suserit*; and that as it was true what our Historian says of the War made upon us by *Edward I.* that *Scotorum Nomen pene deleuit*; it was also true, what he says on the other hand, that *Angliam vehementer concussit*: So that those Gentlemen take the direct way by opposing us to run into those Dangers they would avoid; for they may assure themselves that if the *English*

Opposition to our *American* Settlement should once break out into Hostilities, the *Scots* will find some Allies, ancient or new, that will be glad of the opportunity to join with them. Or if, which is most probable, tho' highly impolitick, the *English* should so far neglect the *Scots*, as to suffer them to be overpowered by the *French*, they may be sure that the *Scots*, when put to their last shift, can always make an honourable Capitulation with *France*: It's not to be doubted, but that Crown would be very willing to renew their ancient Alliance with us; and besides allowing us a share at least in the Trade of *Darien*, would on condition of giving them the Possession of *New Caledonia*, restore us likewise to all our ancient Privileges in *France*. They would think it a very good purchase if they could secure themselves of that Colony by doing so, granting us what security we could reasonably desire for the uninterrupted Injoyment of the Protestant Religion, and a Freedom of Trade to all places of the World where it did not actually interfere with their own Settlements and Colonies. So that if this should be the case, we leave it to our Neighbours to judge what would become of their *East* and *West-India* Trade and Plantations, and whether they would not find it difficult to stand out against *France* and us, now that they have no footing on the Continent, since formerly, when they had so many Provinces of that Kingdom in their possession, they found it a hard matter to do it, and at last lost every foot of their *French* Dominions: whereas had they been in Union with us, they might certainly have retained them, and by consequence have prevented the great Calamities that *Europe* hath since groan'd under by the prodigious Increase of the *French* Monarchy.

This we think sufficient to convince those angry Gentlemen in our Neighboring Nation, that are so very much disgusted with our *American* Settlement, that it is the Interest of *England* to join with us and support it, and that it may be of dangerous consequence

to them either to oppose or neglect us: Whereas by joyning cordially in this matter, they may unite us inseparably to themselves for ever, enrich their own Nation, secure and advance the Protestant Interest, keep the Balance of *Europe* in their hands, and prevent the returns of its danger, their own expence of Blood and Treasure to save its being threatened with Slavery any more, either by the House of *Bourbon* or *Austria*. Therefore we cannot believe after all, but our wise and politick Neighbours will at last see it their Interest to protect and encourage us in this matter, that we may mutually strengthen and support one another against the *French*, who are loudest in their Clamours against our Settlement, because if encouraged and improved it will defeat all their ambitious and Antichristian Designs; and thereby we shall also be in a condition to assist the *English* Plantations in the *West-Indies*, who as we find by the proceedings of the Earl of *Bellamont* and the Assemblies of *New England* and *New York*, are sufficiently sensible of their danger, from the incroaching temper of the *French*, which increaseth every day; and it is evident, that their new design'd Colony in *Mississipi* River, looks with a dangerous Aspect upon all the *English* Plantations in *America*, and may be more justly esteemed an Incroachment upon *Spain*, as being in the Bay of *Mexico*, than our Plantation in *Darien*: which argues the Humour of that Nation, to make such an Out-cry against the *Scots* who have invaded no Man's Property, when they themselves are so notoriously guilty of it; and therefore it would seem to be the Interest of *England* rather to strengthen themselves by our Friendship, and to look after the *French*, than to provoke us to look out for other Allies by their opposition and neglect.

A N S W E R.

I am apt to believe, our *Caledonian* begins to have but a very indifferent Opinion of the success of their New Settlement, and so, like a desperate Gamester, who is reduced to the last Stake, throws at all; and is for Sacrificing the *Darien* Settlement, nay their own Religion and Liberty, as well as that of *Europe*, rather than to ruin a share in it; For what he says of security to be given by the *French* for the Enjoyment of the Protestant Religion, are nothing but Chimerical Notions, as indeed are all the rest. For, supposing the *French* should be so fond of the Possession of *Darien*, (which they don't seem to be, as has been demonstrated before) it is only a vain Speculation, that thereby they would become so Potent, as to become an over-match for *England* and its Allies, who are so nearly concern'd in its Preservation; and it is more than probable, that the *Scots* in such a case would pay the Fidler; since, considering the Situation of *Scotland*, its want of good Harbours, and Barrenness in many Places, it would be very difficult for the *French* to send them any considerable Supplies of Men, or Provisions, when the *English* and *Dutch* are Masters of the Channel; which was the reason that the *French* never so much as attempted the Relieving of my Lord *Dundee*, who gave them the fairest opportunity in the World of getting a footing in *Scotland*, if they had either thought it practicable, or worth their while. But we must go on to see how he winds up the thread of his Arguments.

D E F E N C E.

We shall conclude this matter with one or two more Arguments to prove, That it is the Interest of *England* to joyn with us in this Affair ; by which also it will appear that there is nothing advanc'd in these Sheets out of any ill Design against the *English* Nation, or to persuade to a disuniting of the Crowns ; but on the contrary, that a stricter Union is absolutely necessary, that both Nations may have but one Interest, which will render us less liable to Convulsions and intestine Commotions at home, and put us out of danger of being attacked by Enemies from abroad.

The first Argument is this ; That by encouraging our Settlement at *Darien*, *English* Ships that have occasion to pass by those Coasts will there be certain of a place of Retreat in case of attack either by Enemy or Tempest, without danger of being confiscated by the *Spaniards*, and having their Men condemn'd to be perpetual Slaves in the Mines.

2. If we be encouraged in our *American* Colony, it will contribute much to heighten the Consumption of the *English* Product ; since what we have not of our own, or wherein we are wanting either as to quality or quantity, we shall supply our selves, for the use of our Plantation, in *England* ; which may be of great benefit to the Northern Counties especially, whence we may conveniently furnish our selves with Beeves for Victualling our Ships, our own Cattel being for the most part too small for that use ; besides many other things that we shall have occasion to export from *England* for the use of the Plantation, and to maintain a Commerce with the Natives.

3. By joining with us in this Colony, and securing a Post on the South-Sea, which the Princes of *Darien* will no doubt very readily agree to, they may shorten

shorten their Voyages to the *East-Indies*, and by that means be able to out-do all their Rivals in that Trade; but if they will be so far wanting to themselves, as to suffer those advantages to fall into the Hands of others who are Enemies to our Religion and common Country, they cannot blame the *Scots*, who have made them such fair Offers.

4. If after all, the *English* should continue in their Opposition to us, as their late Proclamations in *America*, and other Passages would seem to imply they have a mind to, the World cannot blame the *Scots* to provide for themselves by such other Alliances as they shall think meet; since the *English* are so unkind, especially since the Restoration of K. *Charles II.* to which we did so much contribute, that without our Concurrence it could never have been effected. This will appear to be incontrovertibly true, if we consider that in the time of K. *James I.* we were under no Restrictions as to matters of Trade more than they, except as to the Exportation of Wool, and a few other Things of *English* Product; and so we continu'd till the Restoration, when K. *Charles II.* and the *English* did very ungratefully lay such Preclusions and Restrictions upon us contrary to the Laws relating to the *Postnati*, by the 12 Car. II. *For the encouraging and increasing Shipping and Navigation*; and the 15 Car. II. *For the Encouragement of Trade*; by which we are put in the same Circumstances as to Traffick with *France* and *Holland*, and in a worse Condition than *Ireland* that is a Conquest; which is so much the more unreasonable, since we are always involv'd and engag'd in the Wars betwixt *England* and other Countries: And those with whom they have most frequent Wars, being *Holland* and *France*, the only two Nations with whom the *Scots* have almost any Commerce, our Trade must of necessity sink during such Wars, whereas *England* hath still a great Trade to other parts of the World; and by this means we are forc'd to be sharers in their Troubles, tho' they will not allow us to partake of their Profits,

nor

nor suffer us to take any measures to procure such as we may call our own.

It is plain from the Instance of *Darien*, and the Proclamations in the *English American Colonies* against their Subjects entertaining any Commerce with our Settlement there, that we are in a worse condition than ever; for when any thing happens wherein the Interest of *England* seems to be contrary to ours, it is certainly carried against us; so that in this respect we are in a worse condition than any Foreigners, with relation to *England*; for if a foreign People discover any thing that may be of Advantage to them, they are at liberty to pursue it by themselves, or to take in the Assistance of others; and if they find themselves aggriev'd by *England*, they have their respective Governments to make Application to for Redress.

To let them see that it is their Interest as well as ours it should be so, we shall only desire them to consider how fatal it may be, if by any Emergency we should be forc'd to break off the Union of the Crowns, and enter again into a *French Alliance*. It's in vain for them to Object, that in such a case we should betray our Religion; for we see the persecuted *Hungarians* were protected in that by the *Turks*, tho' sworn Enemies to it: Nor is it impossible but there may be a change as to that matter in *France*; *L. XIV.* is not immortal: And even *Julian* the Apostate himself found it his Interest for some time to protect the Orthodox Christians, whom he mortally hated. But supposing, (as indeed there's no great likelihood of it) that no such Alliance as this should ever happen; yet however, if these two Nations be not more closely united, it may be of ill Consequence to *England* if any of their Kings at any time should be so far disgust'd as to betake themselves to us: What a Field of Blood and Slaughter must *England* have become, had we carried off *K. Charles I.* when he came to our Army, or if we had join'd him against the Parliament of *England*.

land? What great Efforts did a Party of our Nation make to inthronè K. *Charles II.* when *England* was against him? And how did our Concurrence afterwards with General *Monk* effect it? How soon did our Espousing the Duke of *York's* Interest turn the Tables upon those that opposed him in *England*? And if our Nation had likewise Espous'd his Cause before the Revolution, the Viscount of *Dundee* gave a sufficient proof what we could have done for him. This makes it evident, That it is not the Interest of *England* to slight an Union with us so much as they have done: For so long as we remain divided, any King that is so minded, may make use of us; and any envious Neighbour, whose Interest it is to keep this Island low, will be sure to blow the Coals. If they'd but turn the Tables, and make our Case their own, they would quickly be satisfied of the Truth of what we advance. Supposing that the Government of *Scotland* should traverse the Actings of the Government of *England*, in relation to their Trade, &c. as they have done ours; and supposing that a Parliament of *Scotland*, when the King were there, should question him for the Navigation Act, and that for the Incouragement of Trade in *England* by King *Charles II.* which lays us under such hard Circumstances and Restrictions, the *English* would certainly very much resent it, and speedily tell us we meddled with what did not belong to us: Then why should they deny us the like liberty in reference to their Proceedings against us, seeing we are a free Nation as well as they?

Nor can any thing less than joining with us, and protecting that Settlement against all opposition in case of Attacks by the *French*, or others, sufficiently atone for what is already done, or heal the Wound those Proclamations have giv'n to the common Interest of the Island.

A N S W E R.

These several Pages are no more than a Repetition of what he has urged before; with this difference only, that he intermixes them with some bitter and unseemly Expressions, which are altogether insufferable in a private Person and a Subject. He as good as denounces War against *England* in case the *Scots* should miscarry, and sounds alarm without any publick Authority. I cannot forbear to take notice of one Passage; when he says, That if the *Scots* had carried off K. *Charles I.* when he came to their Army, what a Field of Slaughter and Blood must *England* have become; whereas before, to excuse the *Scots* for their surrendering the said King, he had told us with a great deal of Confidence, that they were necessitated so to do. What he says concerning their Endeavours to Inthron King *Charles II.* is not altogether to be denied; but he might also have remembred upon what Terms they did it, which is I think a sufficient warning to any King not to relie upon their Generosity; and he might have very well saved himself the trouble of offering the Assistance of the *Scots* to the *English* Court, there being no great likelihood, thanks be to God, at this time, that they will have any occasion for them; or if they should, they would scarce think fit to accept of them. Their Concurrence with General *Monk* has been spoken off before, as most of all the other Points, which he treats of here; so that we think it needless to make a Repetition of them here: And so, will take a short View of his Description of *Darien*.

WE come in the next place to give a Description of the *Isthmus of Darien*. It lies betwixt the 8th and 10th Degrees of Northern Latitude, and in the narrowest place is betwixt 60 and 80 Italian Miles over. We shall not trouble our selves with the Description of any more of it than is in the possession of the Natives, which is in length from E. to W. on the N. side from the mouth of the River *Darien* to Port *Scrivan*, above 140 Italian Miles; from *Caret Bay* to the River of *Cheapo* on the Southside, it is about 160 in length. It is supposed to take its Name from the great River of *Darien*, that bounds its Northern Coast to the Eastward. It is bounded on the North and South with the vast Oceans that carry the names of the North and South Seas. Its Situation is very pleasant and agreeable, and very commodious for a speedy and short Communication of Trade betwixt the North and South Seas, and preventing that vast Compass that must otherwise be fetch'd round either of the Extremes of North and South *America*. By this means also it lies convenient for a speedier Communication of Trade betwixt *Europe* and the *East Indies* than any that hath hitherto been found out. Mr. *Dampier* says, That from *Cheapo*, or *Santa Maria River*, a Man may pass from Sea to Sea in three days, and that the *Indians* do it in a day and a half. There are abundance of valuable Islands on both sides the *Isthmus*, which prevent the breaking in of the Ocean upon it at once; and besides the Conveniences of Wood, Fish, Fowl, and Water, afford good and safe Riding in all Weathers, to any number of Ships, especially those call'd the *Sambaloes*, that lie along the Northern Coast. The Continent is agreeably intermix'd with Hills and Valleys of great variety, for height, depth, and extent. The Vallies are water'd with Rivers, Brooks and Springs, which take their rise from a great ridge

ridge of Hills that run along the *Isthmus*, but nearest to the Northern Shore, from which it is seldom above 15 Miles distant, and from whence the *Sambaloes* Islands, and the various Makings of the Shore, and the continued Forest all along the Country gratifie the Eye with a very fine prospect. The Rivers on the Northern Coast are generally small, because their Course from the above-mentioned ridge of Hills is but short; yet the River of *Darien* is very large, but the depth of its entrance not answerable to its width, yet further in it is deep enough, and hath a good Harbour in *Caret Bay* which is some Leagues up the River, hath two Islands of pretty high Land, cloath'd with variety of Trees lying before it, and two or three Streams of fresh Water falling into it. From this Bay to the Promontory near *Golden Island*, the Shore is indifferently fruitful, and the Soil on the Northern Coast is generally good, but swampy here and there to the Sea.

To the Westward of the Promontory, at the entrance of the River, is a fine sandy Bay with three Islands, one of them *Golden Island* lying before it, which make it an extraordinary good Harbour. *Golden Island* is rocky and steep all round, except at the Landing Place on the South side, so that it is naturally fortifi'd. The Land of the *Isthmus* over against it to the S. E. is an excellent fruitful Soil. West of this Island lies the largest of the three, being swampy and covered with Mangroves. To the North of these lies the Island of *Pines*, cover'd with tall Trees fit for any use. From the Point against these Islands for three Leagues Westward, the Shore is guarded by Rocks, so that a Boat cannot Land; but at the N. W. end of the Rocks there's a very good Harbour, and good Riding as has been said in all Winds, by some or other of those Islands, which with the adjacent Shore make a lovely Landskip off at Sea. The Channel betwixt them and the *Isthmus* is two, three, and four Miles broad, and Navigable from end to end, and the Ground opposite to them within Land an excellent Soil, and a continued Forest of stately Timber-Trees. On

On the South-side there's the River *Sambo* that falls into the Sea by point *Garachina*. This is a large River. Then there's the Gulph of St. *Michael*, made by the Outlet of several considerable Rivers, as those of *Santa Maria* and *Congo*, and the *Gold-River*, so call'd because of the great plenty of Gold Dust it affords to the *Spaniards*. The River *Congo* may be entred at High-water, and affords a good Harbour. The Gulph has several Islands in it, and affords good Riding in many places. The Country on this side, as on the other, is one continued Forest; and forms a Bay call'd the Bay of *Panama*, abounding with fine Islands, and affording good Riding for Ships. The Soil of the Inland Country is for the most part a black fruitful Mold.

The Weather is much the same as in other places of the Torrid Zone in this Latitude, but inclining to the wet extreme, for two thirds of the year, the Rains beginning in *April*.

The most remarkable of their Trees are the *Cotton Tree*, which bears a Cod as big as a Nutmeg full of short Wool or Down, and affords Timber for Canoes and Periagoes; they abound with stately *Cedars* and *Macaw* Trees, which bear a Fruit as big as a small Pear, of a tart but not unpleasant Taste; *Bibby Tree*, the Wood hard and black as Ink, and being tapp'd. affords a Liquor call'd *Bibby*, of a pleasant tart taste, which the *Indians* drink. They have abundance of *Plantains* set in Walks, which make very delightful Groves, and yield an excellent Fruit, and being green and sappy, are cut down with one stroak of an Ax. They have also plenty of *Bonanoes* another sort of Plantain, which eats best raw as the Plantain does boil'd. They have great store of that excellent Fruit call'd *Pine-Apples*, which tastes like a Mixture of all delicious Fruits, and ripens at all times of the year. They have also *Prickle-Pear* which is a very good Fruit; and *Sugar-Canes*, of which they make no other use but to suck out the Juice. The *Maho-Tree*, of which they make Ropes, Cables for Ships, and Nets for fishing.

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The *Calabash* whole Shells serve for Cups and other occasions, is curiously painted; the sweet sort of 'em is eatable, and the bitter sort Medicinal. They have also *Gourds* of the like nature. There's a Plant they call *Silk Grass* which resembles our Flax; this they beat into strings like fine Flax, much stronger than our Flax or Hemp; of these they make Ropes, Cordage of all sorts, Nets for small Fish; and the *Spaniards* and others use it for Shoemakers Thread, Stockings, and a sort of Lace. They have a Tree call'd *Lightwood*, as large as an Elm, but so light, that a Man may carry a great quantity of it on his back. It is in substance like Cork, and made use of by the *Indians* for Rafters to go to Sea, or pass Rivers. They have a Tree call'd *Whitewood* of a finer Grain, and whiter than any European Wood, and fit for inlaying. They have *Tamarind*, *Locust-Tree*, *Bastard Cinnamon*, *Bamboes*, and *Maingrove-Trees* in plenty. They have Shrubs that bear store of Pepper of two sorts, call'd Bell Pepper, and Bird-Pepper.

Mr. *Waser*, to whom we owe this Description, takes notice of a *Redwood*, whereof there grow great quantities on the Northern Coast; the *Indians* make use of it for Dying, and mix a kind of Earth they have with it. It makes a bright glossy lively Red, which no washing can fetch out again. This we suppose to be the *Nicaragua* Wood. Their Roots are Potatoes, Kams, and Cassava; of the last of which they make Bread. They have likewise Tobacco, but don't understand the Planting and Manuring of it; it is not so strong as that of *Virginia*.

Their Beasts are the *Peccary*, and *Waree* a kind of wild Hogs, which are very good Meat. They have considerable store of Deer and Rabbits, and great droves of Monkies, which are extraordinary fat and good to Eat. They have an Insect call'd a *Soldier*, somewhat resembling a Crab, which feeds upon what falls from the Tree, is a delicious Meat, and yeilds an Oil that is an excellent Salve. They have no European Cattle. Their

Their Birds are the *Chicaly-Chicaly*, which makes a noise somewhat like a Cuckoo, is a large Bird, has Feathers of divers Colours very beautiful and lively, whereof the Natives sometimes make Aprons. This Bird keeps mostly on the Trees, feeds on Fruit, and is pretty good Me. t. The *Quam* feeds in the same manner, his Wings are dun, his Tail dark, short, and upright. He is much preferable to the other for Meat. There's a *Ruff* colour'd Bird, resembling a Partridge, runs most on the ground, and is excellent Meat. The *Corosou* is a large Fowl as big as a Turkey, and of a black colour. The *Cock* has a fine Crown of yellow Feathers on his Head, and Gills like a Turkey. They live on Trees, and eat Fruit. They sing very delightfully, and are so well imitated by the *Indians*, that they discover their haunts by it. They are very good Meat, but their Bones make the Dogs run mad, and are therefore hid from them by the *Indians*. They have abundance of *Parrots*, for size and shape much like those of *Jamaica*, they are very good Meat. Their *Parakites* are most of them green, and go in large Flights by themselves. They have *Macaw* Birds which are as big again as *Parrots*, and resemble them in shape. They have a Bill like a Hawk, and a bushy Tail, with 2 or 3 long stragling Feathers, either red or blue; but those of the Body are of a lovely blue, green and red. The *Indians* tame those Birds and them to speak: and then letting them go into the Woods amongst the wild ones, they will return of their own accord to the Houses. They exactly imitate the Voices and Singing of the *Indians*, and call the *Chicaly* in its own Note. It is one of the pleasantest Birds in the World and its flesh sweet and well tasted. They have also *Waspickers* which are pied like our Magpies, and have long Claws that they climb up Trees with they are not pleasant to Eat. They have plenty of Dunghil fowl resembling those of *Europe*, and their Flesh and Eggs as well tasted as ours. About the *Sambalacs* they have great store of Sea-fowl, and particularly Pelicans which

which are large Birds, having Legs and Feet like a Goose and a Neck like a Swan, the Feathers are grey. It has a Bag under its Throat, which when fill'd is as large as a Man's two Fists; and when dry, will hold a pound of Tobacco; they feed upon Fish, and the young ones are good Meat. They have also *Cormorants* resembling Ducks for size and shape, are of a black Colour, have a white spot on the Breast, and pitch sometimes on Trees and Shrubs by the water side. They are too rank to be eaten. They have abundance of Sea-Gulls and Pies, which are pretty good meat, but eat fishy, which is cur'd by burying 'em 8 or 10 hours in the Sand with their Feathers on. They have flying Insects too, and among others Bees, which form their Hives on Trees, and it's observ'd, That they never sting any body: The Natives mix the Honey with Water, and so drink it, but know not the use of the Wax. They have shining Flies, which in the night time resemble Glow-worms.

Their Fish are the *Tarpon*, which eats like Salmon; some of 'em weigh 50 or 60 pound: They afford good Oil. They have *Sharks*, and another Fish that resembles a *Shark*, but much better Meat. The *Crually* is much of the size of a Maccarel, and very good Meat. They have a Fish call'd *Old Wives*, which is also very good to Eat. Their *Paracoods* are as large as a well-grown Pike, and very good Meat; but in some particular places poisonous, which are distinguished by the Liver. Their *Gar-Fish* is good Meat, they have a long Bone on their Snout, with which they will sometimes pierce the side of a Canoe. They have also *Sculpins*, a prickly Fish, which when strip'd, is very good Meat. They have likewise *String rays*, *Parrot fish*, *Snooks*, *Conger-Eels*, *Couchs*, *Periwinkles*, *Limpits*, *Sea-Crabs*, and *Craw Fish*, and other sorts whose Names we know not, that Eat very well.

The Inhabitants are most numerous on the North of the *Isthmus*; the Men usually 5 or 6 foot high, straight, clean limb'd, big-bon'd, handsomely shap'd, nimble,

nimble, active, and run well. The Women are short and thick, and not so lively as the Men; the young Women plump, well-shap'd, and have a brisk Eye: Both Sexes have a round Visage, short bottle Noses, large and grey Eyes, high Forehead, white even Teeth, thin Lips, pretty large Mouths, well proportion'd Cheeks and Chins, and in general, handsome; but the Men exceed the Women. Both Sexes have straight long lank black Hair, which they generally wear down to the middle of their Back. All other Hair but that of their Eye-brows and Eye-lids they pull up by the Roots, cut off the Hair of their Heads, and paint themselves black by way of Triumph, when they kill a *Spaniard*. Their natural Complexion is a Copper colour, and their Eye-brows black as Jet. There are some among them of both Sexes, which bear the proportion of 2 or 3 to a hundred, who are milk white, and have all their Bodies cover'd over with a milk white Down; their Hair is of the same Colour, and very fine, about 6 or 8 Inches long, and inclining to curl. They are less in Stature than the other *Indians*, and their Eye-lids point downwards in form of a Crescent; they don't see well in the Sun, their Eyes being weak and running with Water if the Sun shine upon them, therefore they are call'd Moon-eye'd. They are weak and sluggish in the day time, but in Moon-shiny nights all life and activity, and run as fast through the Woods by night, as the other *Indians* do by day: They are not so much respected as the other *Indians*, but look'd upon as monstrous. The Natives go naked both Men and Women, only the Men have a thing like an Extinguisher of silver or gold Plate tied round their middle to cover their Yard, and the Women tie a piece of Cloth before them, which comes as low as their Knee; but they use none of those Precautions till they come to the years of Puberty; the Men that have not those Extinguishers, make use of a piece of a Plantain-Leaf of a Conick Figure. They are in general, a modest and cleanly People, and have a value for
Cloths

Cloths if they had them. The better sort have long Cotton Garments shap'd like Carmens Frocks, which they use on solemn Occasions, as attending the King or Chief, &c. For an Ornament to the Face, besides their general painting and daubing, the Men wear a piece of Plate hanging over their Mouths, and the Chief of them have it of Gold. It is of an Oval Form, and gently pinching the Bridle of the Nose with its points, hangs dangling from thence as low as the under Lip; and instead of this the Women wear a Ring through the Bridle of the Nose: They lay them aside at their Feasts. They likewise wear Chains of Teeth, Shells, Beads, or the like; the heavier they be, they reckon them the more Ornamental. Their Houses lie mostly scattering, and always by a River-side, but in some places they are so many as to form a Town or Village. Their Walls are made up of Sticks, and daub'd over with Earth: The Fire is in the middle of the Houſe, and the Smoke goes out at a Hole in the Roof: They are not divided into Stories or Rooms, but into Hovels; every one has a Hammock for a Bed in one of those Hovels. They have no Doors, Shelves, or Seats, other than Logs of Wood. Every Neighbourhood has a Warr-house of 130 foot long, the Sides and Ends full of Holes, whence they shoot their Arrows on the approach of the *Spaniards*. In their Plantations they set so much Plaintain, Maiz, &c. as serves their occasions: They likewise make Drink of Maiz, which they ferment by Grains of the same chewed in their Mouths: They have also another sort of Drink, which they make of Plantains. Most of the Drudgery is perform'd by the Women with great cheerfulness, being very well condition'd, and dutiful to their Husbands, who are otherwise very indulgent to them, and their Children. The Women wash the Mother and Child in a River within an hour after Delivery. The Boys are bred to the Bow, Hunting, and Fishing, &c. at which they are mighty dexterous; and the Girls help the Women in dressing their Victuals,

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Weaving, making Cotton Cloth, Cordage, Nets, &c. and the Men make Baskets very neat, dying the Materials first with lively Colours. They allow Poligamy, but punish Adultery with the Death of both Parties: They punish Theft also with Death; and Fornication with thrusting a Briar up the Man's Yard, whereof they commonly Die. The Facts must be prov'd by Oath, which is a swearing by their Tooth. When they Marry, the Father or nearest Kinsman keeps the Bride privately in his own Apartments the first seven Nights, and then she is deliver'd to her Husband: All the Neighbours for some Miles round are invited to a great Feast, and bring Provisions with them: The Fathers of the young Couple bring them forth in their hands, and the Bridegroom's Father makes a Speech; then he dances about in antick Gestures till all on a sweat, when he kneels down, and gives his Son to the Bride, her Father also having danc'd himself into a Sweat, and presenting her to the Bridegroom in the same manner; then they take each other by the hand, and so the Ceremony concludes. After this all the Men take up their Axes, and run shouting to a Tract of Wood-Land, to prepare a Plantation for the new Couple. That being done, They have their Feast, and afterwards drink hard, all their Arms being first put out of the way, to prevent Danger in case of quarrelling. They divert themselves by Dancing, and Piping on a small hollow Bamboe, but without distinction of Notes: The Men and Women never Dance nor Feast together, but apart. The Women accompany them likewise in their hunting Expeditions, which sometimes last 20 days: They tie their Hammocks betwixt two Trees cover them with Plantain Leaves, and have Fires all night by their Hammocks: Such of their Prey as they take a Hunting, and design to keep for future use, they barbecue in the Woods; and what they make use of for present Sustenance, they mix with Roots Plantain. Bonanoes, and Pepper, and stew it together till it be brought to a Pulp; which they

they take up with the two foremost Fingers of their right Hand bent hookwise, and put into their Mouths. They travel by direction of the Sun, or the bending of the Trees, according as the Wind is. None of the *English* Authors take notice of their Worship or Religion, but give an account that they Pawaw, or Consult the Devil to know Futurities: And it would seem they are as ignorant in matters of Physick and Chirurgery, since when they would let a Patient Blood, they set him upon the Bank of a River, and with a little Bow, and small Arrow, gag'd that it may enter no further than our Lancets, they shoot as fast as they can at all parts of the Patient's Body; and if they chance to hit on a Vein, that the Blood spurts out a little, they testifie their Joy by Antick Dances.

WE come next to give an Account of their Settlement of our Men there; how they were receiv'd by the Natives; what *Indian* Princes there are in their Neighbourhood; in what state they found the Affairs of the Country; and of the Situation of our Colony.

On the 27th of *October* 1698. our Ships came to an Anchor in a fair sandy Bay, three Leagues W. off the Gulph of *Darien*; upon which, two Canoes, with several *Indians* came on board, were very free with our Men, told them they had been long expected, and were very welcome: Our Men gave them some old Hats, Looking glasses, and Knives, with which they were extremely well pleas'd, and went off. When our Ships stood further into the Bay, they saw about 20 *Indians* drawn up on the Shore, being arm'd with Bows and Lances; upon which a Boat being sent ashoar, and making a signal of Peace, they unstrung their Bows, talk'd familiarly, and told our Men, that two Great Captains would in a little time come on board our Ships. Accordingly, on *November* the 2d, in the morning, Captain *Andreas*, one of their Princes, accompanied by 12 Men, came on board, and ask'd their Business:

ness: He was answered, That we came to live among them, and Trade with them, and would afford them *European* Commodities cheaper than any other People. He ask'd if we were Friends or Enemies to the *Spaniards*; and was answered, that we were at Peace with all Men, and would make War upon no Man, except they injur'd us. He took us for *Buccaneers*, and told us, He knew Captain *Swan* and Captain *Davis* in the South-Sea, and commended them as Men of Valour. We heard that part of his Discourse with much Coldness, and told him we came on no such design as those Men did, but had Authority for what we undertook. We treated him civilly, gave him a Hat lac'd with Gold, and some Toys: And so he parted, promising in a little time to come again; which he accordingly did, and brought *Don Pedro*, another of their Princes or Captains, with him. Captain *Andreas* was freer with us than at first, plainly own'd that he took us for *Buccaneers*, and complain'd that some *Englishmen* of that sort had after great pretences of Friendship, carried off some of their People; and therefore *Don Pedro* would not come aboard us till he had further assurance of us.

Captain *Andreas* is a Person of a small stature; he affects the *Spanish* Gravity, as having been often among them at the Mines of *Santa Maria*, *Panama*, &c. and formerly had a Commission under them as a Captain, upon which he values himself above others: The *French* hate him mortally, because of something he did against some of their Nation formerly. When he came on board us, he had a sort of a Coat of red loose Stuff, an old Hat, a pair of Drawers, but no Stockings nor Shoes; and the rest that came with him were all naked, excepting their *Penis*, which was covered by Extinguishers, as formerly mention'd.

Upon further Communing, Captain *Andreas* was very well pleas'd with us, offered us what part of the Country we would chuse, and accepted a Commission from us; and at the same time we gave him

him a Basket-hilted Sword, and a pair of Pistols; upon which he promised to defend us to the last of his Blood.

Some of the Princes on this side the *Isthmus* had been in Peace with the *Spaniards* for several years, and suffered a few of them to reside amongst them, to give notice to *Panama* of what Ships came upon these Coasts; but upon some fresh disgust, about two months before we arriv'd, Captain *Ambresio*, who is the most noted Prince amongst 'em, had oblig'd them to enter into a common Alliance against *Spain*, and cut off ten *Spaniards*, who liv'd upon *Golden Island*.

The Place where we are settled is four miles East of *Golden Island*, within a great Bay. We have an excellent Harbour, surrounded with high Mountains, capable of holding a thousand Sail Land-lock'd, and safe from all Winds and Tempests. The Mouth of the Harbour is about random Cannon-shot over, form'd by a *Peninsula* on the one side, and a point of Land on the other. In the middle of the Entrance there is a Rock three foot above Water, upon which the Sea breaks most terribly when the Wind blows hard; and within the Points there is a small Rock that lies a little under Water. On both sides these Rocks there's a very good wide Channel for Ships to come in: That on the South-side is 3 Cables long, and 7 Fathom deep; and that on the North two Cables long. From the two outermost points the Harbour runs away East a Mile and an half; and near the middle, on the right hand, a point of Land shoots out into the Bay; so that by raising Forts on the said Point, on the Rock in the middle of the Entrance, and the two outermost Points, it will be the strongest Harbour, both by Art and Nature, that's in the known World. The Bay within is for the most part 6 Fathom Water, and till you come within a Cable's length of the Shoar, three Fathom and an half: So that a Key may be built, to which great Ships may lay their Sides, and unload. The *Peninsula* lies on the Left-
Hand,

Hand, is a mile and a half in length, very steep, and high towards the Sea : So that it would be very difficult for any body to Land, till you come to the *Isthmus*, where there's a small sandy Bay that little Ships may put into, but is easie to be secured by a Ditch and a Fort. There are several little Rivers of very good Water that fall into the Bay ; and it abounds so with excellent Fish, that we can with ease take more than it's possible for us to destroy, having sometimes caught 140 at a Draught : Amongst others there be Tortoises, which are excellent Mear, and some of them above 600 weight.

The *Peninsula* was never inhabited, and is cover'd all over with Trees of various sorts ; as stately Cedars, Brasil-wood, *Lignum Vitæ*, Box-Wood, Fittick-wood, Yellow Sanders, Manshinel, &c. and the like sorts, besides others whose Names we know not, grow on the Continent ; and we doubt not of finding out the *Nicaragua*-Wood : We have found Cabbage-Trees, the Fruit of which eats like Colly-Flowers. The Natives have no Plantation within two Miles of us.

We have a Watch-Tower upon an high Hill adjoining to our Plantation, about a Mile South of the Bay ; from whence we can see the Ships in the Bay, the Fort we have rais'd on the Bay, and as far as the Mouth of the River *Darien* : We can see above 30 miles Southward, and have a fine Prospect of *Golden Island*, and the *Ist. of Pines*, Westward towards *Porto-Bello*, and Northward towards *Jamaica*. The Hill is about a Mile in height ; so that we can see any Ships before they come within some Leagues of the Harbour. We compute our selves to be about 50 Leagues North of *Carthagena*, and as much South of *Porto-Bello*. The Four *Indian* Kings or Captains on this Coast visit us frequently in their Canoes : and the Natives are very kind to us, and sell us Plaintains, Fowls &c. for Toys or old Shifts. A *Frenchman*, who hath Married one of the Natives, informs us, That the *Spaniards* have Silver and Mines on the *Isthmus*, which we might make our selves

selves Masters of with a 100 Men; so that if they commit Hostilities upon us, as we hear they threaten to do, it's not unlikely that we may visit them. We found some *French* Refugees in the Country, who are willing to settle under us; and having been several years in these Parts, and understanding the Language of the Natives, are very useful to us. We have seen some Sand in the Rivers, which looks as if it were mixt with Gold, and in some places the Earth seems to be very much mixt with it: So that it's concluded there's more Gold-Dust here, than in any part of *Guinea*.

The *Indian* Princes or Captains on this Coast do somewhat resemble our Heads of Clans in *Scotland*; and by their Converse at times with the *Spaniards*, and other *European* Nations, affect Christian Names. The first of these Princes we shall name is Captain *Diego*; he commands from the bottom of the Gulph of *Orba* on this side *Caret Bay*, and has 3000 Men under him; he has been at War with the *Spaniards* several years, occasion'd by an Insult his People had receiv'd from them, when they came to demand their share in the Mines which they had discover'd to the *Spaniards* in their Country, on condition of being Partners with them: But when they came to demand it, the *Spaniards* treated them villanously; beat and abus'd them; upon which they attack'd the *Spaniards*, cut off 20 of their Men, and three Priests that belong'd to the Mines.

The next is Captain *Pousigo*. He is an *Indian* Clergy-man, and Brother-in-Law to Captain *Andreas*. The Peninsula that we possess, lies betwixt his Territory and that of Captain *Andreas*, who together with his Brother, commands from *Golden Island* to the River *Pinas*. Their Command is greater than that of *Pousigo*, but not so great as that of *Diego*. These Princes are very useful to us, because of their Neighbourhood and Consanguinity to one another.

Captain *Ambrosio* commands from the River *Pinda* to the *Samballoes*: He is a Man of about 60 years of Age, but strong and vigorous, well limb'd, and of a stern Countenance: He is a mortal Enemy to the *Spaniards*, with whom he hath had a long War: He is esteem'd the bravest of all the *Indian* Captains. His Son-in-Law *Don Pedro* having been taken by the *Spaniards*, and kept by them as a Slave at *Panama*, he can never forget nor forgive it them: This young Man is a great Friend to the *French*, who they are made to believe design to come and settle among them. *Ambrosio* and his Son-in-Law prest us much to come and settle in their Dominions, and join with them to make War on the *Spaniards*: We gavethem fair Words, and promis'd to come and view their Coasts, which we accordingly did; and in our way thither, four Leagues Westward of our Settlement, we found an excellent Harbour, capable of 10000 Sail; but it can't be defended without many Forts: Here the Privateers us'd to come and career. Captain *Ambrosio's* House lies about a League from the Water-side, on the Bank of a River, having twelve lesser Houses about it: When we drew near it, he advanced 50 Paces to meet us, being attended by 20 Men in white loose Frocks with Fringes round the bottom, and arm'd with Lances: He saluted us kindly, and gave us a Calabash of Liquor almost like Lambs-wool, made of *Indian* Corn and Potatoes. His House is 90 foot long, 35 broad, and 30 in height, curiously thatch'd with *Palmetto-Royal*, and over that Cotton Leaves. The Floor is of firm Earth like *Tarras*, very smooth and clean. The sides are compos'd of large Canes, as thick as a Man's Leg. In this House live *Ambrosio* and his Son-in-Law *Don Pedro*, with both their Families, consisting of about 40 Persons. We saw *Ambrosio's* Grandmother there, who is 120 years old, and yet was very active in getting things ready for an Entertainment. She has six Generations descended from her now in the House with her. The People live here to 150 and 160 years of Age; but those
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that converse much with *Europeans*, and drink strong Drink don't live so long.

From the *Samballoes* to the River of *Conception*, the Country is commanded by one *Corbet*, who is altogether in the *French* Interest, he having contracted a Friendship with their Privateers 7 years ago, and done them many good Offices. They promised to reward him if he would go to *Petit Guaves*, and in his way thither he was taken by an *English* Privateer and carried to *Jamaica*; whence the Governor of *Petit Guaves* got him releas'd. He was with *Ponti* at the taking of *Carthagena*, and has a Commission from the *French* to be General of all the *French* and *Indian* Forces on that Coast, and to take, sink, and destroy *Spaniards* or any other Enemies. Yet the *French* themselves, and the sensible part of the *Indians*, don't put any confidence in him; and *Ambrosio*, who is the bravest of all those *Indian* Captains, keeps him in Awe and within Bounds.

Next to *Corbet*, there's another of their Captains call'd *Nicola*, who is said to be a wise, brave and good natur'd Prince; insomuch that the *Indians* had a mind to have set him up instead of *Ambrosio*, who is of a rugged military Temper. But *Ambrosio's* Authority and Power is so great, that they did not find it practicable. *Nicola* is a mortal Enemy to the *Spaniards*, and can never entertain a good thought of them, since the Governor of *Porto-Bello* robb'd him of a curious Fufee that had been presented him by some of the *Buccaneers*; and being out of order, he sent it thither to be mended; upon which the Governour taking a liking to it, kept it to himself, and sent *Nicola* another sorry piece instead of it.

Since we came hither, there have been an *English*, a *Dutch*, and a *French* Ship in our Bay. The *English* Ship was Captain *Long* in the *Rupert* Prize; He had been in the Gulf of *Orba*, but he himself and his Men own'd, that they had not then been ashore there. He hath some way or other disoblig'd the Captains *Ambrosio* and *Diego*. Tho' we treated him

with all possible Civility, yet we are since inform'd that he hath been a days Journey into the Gulf, and endeavour'd to incense the *Indians* against us, telling them that we were Privateers, and that the King of *England* would not protect us. He left some Men in the Bay, who had since kill'd some *Spaniards*, and came to us for Arms and Ammunition, but we told them, we could not grant them any, and that they had done what they could not justify. We gave them however what was necessary for fitting up a Boat; and as a Reward, they intic'd away the Carpenter and Mate of one of our Ships call'd the *Unicorn*.

The *Dutch* Ship that came hither was afraid of the Spanish *Barbavento* Fleet, and put in here for Protection, that Fleet having made Prize of another *Dutch* Ship of 32 Guns, and of two *English* Sloops for Trading on those Coasts.

The *French* Ship that put in here, was that which was order'd to carry back the Church Plate, &c. to *Carthagen*, did afterwards bulge on a Rock, and was cast away in our Harbour. We sav'd all their lives, and Captain *Pincarton* our Commodore endanger'd his own life to save that of the *French* Captain. He inform'd us, That the *French* had four Men of War of 50 Guns each, who thinking we had a Design on the River *Mississipi*, were gone to the Gulf of *Mexico* in quest of us. The *French* have been very industrious in cultivating their Interest, both with the Natives and *Spaniards* in this part of *America*, and doubt not of having a good share in those Countries after the King of *Spain's* Death. They have got a great Interest with Captain *Ambrosio* by means of his Son-in-Law *Don Pedro*, whom they care's extremely, and design'd to have carried him to *Petit Guarus*, and from thence into *France*, to acquaint the *French* King with the favourable Sentiments the *Indians* have entertain'd of the *French*, and of their design to surrender themselves to his Majesty.

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This has been projected by the *French* a long time, but the King of *Spain's* Indisposition, and their Pretensions to that Crown, made them refer it: and there's no doubt but our Settlement will quicken those Resolutions. Captain *Andreas*, Captain *Pedro* his Brother, Captain *Diego*, and Captain *Poufigo* our Neighbours have no manner of Correspondence with the *French*. The latter hath acquainted us that there are several Gold Mines within two Miles of our Settlement which he hath promis'd to shew us; and he hath actually let us see several Samples of fine Gold.

This being the Substance of several Journals that were sent from our Colony in *Darien* upon their first Settlement there, we hope it's sufficient of it self to satisfy our Neighbours in *England* of the Justice of our Cause, of the Equity of our Proceedings, of the true Reason why the *French* are so much our Enemies in this matter, of the greatness of the Providence that has put us in possession of that Post, and that it is *England's* Interest to joyn, with and protect us, by which the Designs of the *French* against *Europe* in general, and *Great Britain* in particular, may be defeated, and the *English West-India* Trade secur'd. But since by the Proclamations before mention'd, our Ships may be in danger of being attack'd by other Nations as Pirates, and our Colony discountenanc'd, and oppos'd on that Account by the Natives; there's no reason that our Neighbours should think strange if we complain of that unkind usage, and endeavour to lay before them what may probably be the Consequences of such Proceedings, without being construed either to threaten or to wish that any such things should happen: It being evident that by offering to admit the *English* as Joint-sharers in our Trade, we entertain no Sentiments but what are friendly towards that Nation, being satisfied that all those who wish well to the Protestant Religion and true Liberty, are Enemies to any thing that may occasion a Breach of the Union and good Understanding betwixt us. Yet it
must

must be own'd, that we have but too great reason to complain of the Hardships we suffer, which it is in the power of *England* to remedy, by complying with the gracious Proposals of Uniting the Nations, repeated in Parliament by His Majesty, who like a true Father of His Country, has expos'd himself to the greatest of Dangers to procure the Welfare and Peace of His Subjects, by which He has made an absolute Conquest of the Hearts of all good Men, who are unanimous to join in the like Prayer for him, that the *Israelites* of old put up for their Kings, viz. *That he may live for ever.*

FINIS.

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